THE ṬABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

BIBLIOTHECA INDICA—A COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL WORKS

THE ṬABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

OF

KHWĀJAH NIẒĀMUDDĪN AHMAD

(A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLY MUSALMAN INVASIONS TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR)

VOLUME I

TRANSLATED BY

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PREFACE

EMPEROR Akbar's love for history drew around him a number of reputed Persian scholars who produced valuable historical treatises. The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī is one such authoritative account from the pen of Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, who was not a professional historian but an experienced administrator with a keen historical outlook It gives us a comprehensive history of India from the time of the Ghaznavides down to A D 1593-94 In consideration of its importance as a source book for the reconstruction of the history of medieval India, the Asiatic Society published the text in three volumes in its Bibliotheca Indica Series, edited by Sri B De between the years 1911 and 1941 Sri De also undertook English Translation of the text which again came out in three volumes during the same period It will appear from the Translator's note that after publication of fascicle I of Volume I in 1911, the work was suspended till 1927 when the rest of it was taken up The Volume I of the translation went out of print while the two other volumes are still in stock In order to meet the sustained demand of the volume from scholars working in the field the Council of the Society decided upon bringing out a reprint of the particular volume only It is a matter of gratification for me to be able to release the work for which our thanks are due to Sri Biram Mukhopadhyaya who assiduously corrected the proofs and saw the volume through the press We deeply appreciate the cooperation rendered by the Iran Society, Calcutta, in permitting us to consult their copy of the book, as our own library copies even have been damaged by continued use by the scholars

Though a new edition has been brought out we do not claim that we could revise it thoroughly, as much as we liked for obvious reasons Discrepancies about spelling of proper names, and also in transliteration, which were there in the original edition could not all be remedied, but they are of minor nature and will not for that minimise the value of the book

The Asiatic Society
15 August 1973

S K MITRA
General Secretary

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

THIS is a translation of the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, of which I have attempted to make out a correct text, by collating the lithographed edition published from the press of Munshi Newal Kishore of Lucknow, and three manuscripts, two of which were obtained from the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the third from the Palace Library of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad. I have referred to the two former as MS A and MS C and to the latter as MS B. The lithographed edition and the MSS vary in many places. I have adopted the readings which appeared to me to be the most correct

CALCUTTA
22nd July, 1911

B DE

FOR reasons, which it is not necessary to mention here, my work remained in abeyance till I was induced to take it up again in the latter part of 1925 I have now completed the first volume which ends with the fall of the Afghan kings of Dehli

I must acknowledge here, the cordial co-operation of Mr Johan van Manen, the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the help I have received from Shams-ul-'Ulamā Mawlawī Hidāyat Hosain, the Joint Philological Secretary.

September 1927

B. DE

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INTRODUCTION

THE sublimest praise is due to that true King who has placed the making and unmaking of the government of the world, and the regulation of the affairs of the human race, in the noble existence of just rulers and wise administrators; and has treasured and entrusted the task of maintaining and enforcing the laws of religion and government in the greatness and grace, the generosity and sternness, and the mercy and wrath of these great men And may prayers high as the throne of God rest on the leaders of the caravans that follow the straight path, and guide the foolish wanderers in the darkness of infidelity to the brilliant spaces of truth, and lead those who wander in the wilderness of confusion to the haven of fulfilment, by the aid of the glory of the Divine light and the help of the refulgence of the Divine nature, and specially on that most perfect specimen of creation, and that final embodiment of Divine aid and inspiration, whose sublime nature is a part of the Divine light, and whose noble essence a portion of God's holiness, of whose light the earth and the sky are a shadow, and of whose essence all space and creation a reflection, and [may similar prayers rest] on those who travel along the highway of his will, and following him step by step reach the vantage ground of union

But, after that, this insignificant particle—Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, the son of Muhammad Mukim the Harawi, who is a humble dependent and a faithful adherent of the sublime Court of the great Emperor, the Sultān of the Sultāns of the world, the beneficent shadow of God, the vicegerent of the Omnipotent, the strengthener of the pillars of world-conquest, the founder of the rules for governing the world, the ruler of the world and of all who inhabit it, the lord of all time and of all that exists in it, the embodiment of Divine secrets, the personification of spiritual essences, the most potent conqueror and the most successful ruler, the lion in the wilderness of political and religious warfare Abul Fateh Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzi, may God perpetuate his dominion and empire, and fill the table of his justice and benefaction!—

represents that from his childhood, according to the instructions of his worthy father, he occupied himself with the study of historical works, which brightens the intellect of the studious, and inspires the intelligent with awe, and by the study of the accounts of the travellers in the stages of the journey of existence, which is like a progress of the soul, rubbed off the rust of his nature

And in this great land of Hindustān, which is a vast continent containing many climes, and which those who have calculated the area of the earth have estimated to contain a fourth part of its surface, at various times and in different quarters various rulers have acquired power and dominion, and having styled themselves Sulṭāns, have ruled the land, and the writers of those periods having described the conquests and the government of those quarters have left memorials of them In this way there are histories of Dehli, Gujarāt, Mālwah, Bangālah and Sind, and similarly separate histories have been written of all the provinces and parts of Hindustān It is wonderful (however) that no history has been written by any of these writers which contains a complete account of the events which have occurred in any one of the provinces Nor has any history been compiled of the whole country of India and of its capital Dehli The only work which has acquired any fame is the Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī in which Minhāj has given an account of the period which begins with the reign of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Ghūrī and ends with that of Nāsiruddīn, the son of S̲h̲amsuddīn Again the period from the reign of Sultān Nāsiruddīn to that of Sulṭān Firoz has been dealt with in the history of Ziā Barnī For the period extending from the reign of Sultān Firoz to the present day, during the greater portion of which great disturbances have taken place in this country, and the people have not had the good fortune to be ruled by any great kings, the humble writer has in spite of repeated searches only come across fragmentary compilations, and has not heard of any history which contains an account of the whole of Hindustān

Now that all the Provinces and Divisions of Hindustān have been conquered by the world-opening sword of His Majesty, the vicegerent of God, and the many have been unified into the one, and even many of the countries outside of India, which had never been acquired by any of the former great Sultāns have become part and

parcel of his dominions, and it is hoped, that the seven climes would become the abode of peace and quiet under the shadow of His Majesty's auspicious standard, it came to the dull understanding of the author, that he should, with the pen of truth and candour, write a comprehensive history which should present in a clear style, in its different sections, an account of the Empire of Hindustān from the time of Sabuktigīn which began with the year 367[1] A H, when Islam first appeared in the country of Hindustān, to the year 1001[2] A H, corresponding with the thirty-seventh year of the Divine era, which was inaugurated at the epoch-making accession of His Majesty, the vicegerent of God, and should embellish the end of each section with the story of the victories of His Majesty's glorious army, which is as it were an introduction to the sublime chronicle of renown, then he should give a comprehensive account of all the victories and events and occurrences of His Majesty's reign each in its own place The details of these events are contained in the great history called the Akbar-nāmah, which that embodiment of all excellence, the learned in all truths and knowledge, the personification of worldly and spiritual perfection, the favoured of his Majesty the Emperor, the most erudite Sheikh Abul Fazl who is the preface of all excellence and eminence has written with his wonder-inscribing pen, and has made a chronicle for all times

The names of the Historical works which have been referred to in the compilation of this work are the Tārīkh-i-Yemīnī, the Tārīkh-i-Zain-ul-Akhbār, the Rauzat-us-safa, the Tāj-ul-māāsir, the Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri, the Khazāin-ul-Fatuh, the Tughlaknāmah, the Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhī of Ziā Barnī, the Fatuhāt-i-Firozshāhī, the Tārīkh-ī-Mubārak Shāhī, the Tārīkh-i-Fatuh-i-Salātīn, the Ma'asir-Muhammad-Shāhī-Gujarāti, the Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd-Shāhī-Māndvi, the Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd-Shāhī-Khurd-Māndvi, the Tabakāt-i-Mahmud-Shāhī-Gujarāti, the Tārīkh-i-Bahādur-Shāhi, the Tārīkh-i-Bahmani, the

[1] Sabuktigīn became chief of Ghaznin in this year 367 A H corresponding with A D 977, but he did not begin to invade Hindustān till ten years afterwards, A D 986-987

[2] So in MSS A and C and in the lithographed edition, MS B gives the year 1002 A H

Tārīkh-i-Nāsiri, the Tārīkh-i-Muzaffur Shāhī, the Tārīkh-i-Mirza-Haidar-Kashmiri, the Tārīkh-i-Kashmir, the Tārīkh-i-Sind, the Tārīkh-i-Bābari, the Wākaiāt-i-Bābari, the Tārīkh-i-Ibrahīm Shāhī, the Wākaiāt Mushtāki, the Wakaiāt of His Majesty, the nestling of Paradise, Humāyūn Bādshāh, may God illuminate his tomb !

As this compilation contains sections about all the rulers of Hindustān, and the noble section about His Majesty the vicegerent of God is at the end of the other sections, it has been called the Tabakāt-i-Akbar Shāhī, and it is a beautiful coincidence that the word Nizāmī which contains a reference to the name of the compiler gives the date of the compilation It is hoped that this chronicle of the wonderful events will add to the information of the intelligent and the welfare of the writer

The work will comprise one introductory section,[1] nine sections, and one conclusion The introductory section will contain an account of the Kings of Ghaznīn from the commencement of the reign of Sabuktigīn in the year 367 A.H to the year 582 A H, a period of two hundred and fifteen years with fifteen kings The nine sections will be (1) the section about Dehli from the beginning of the reign of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Ghūrī, who first conquered the territory of Dehli and stationed rulers there, to the auspicious reign of His Majesty, the vicegerent of God, in which there have been thirty-six Kings, and which began with the year 574 A H, and ends with the year 1002 A H a period of four hundred and forty-eight[2] years, (2) the section about the Dakin in which there were thirty-six Kings from the year 748 A H to the year 1002 A H, a period of two hundred and fifty-four years, (3) the section about Gujarāt, the Kings of which, sixteen in number, reigned from the year 793 A H to the year 980 A H, a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years, (4) the section about Bangālah where there were twenty-one Kings during a period of one hundred and ninety-eight years, from the year 741 A H to the year 939 A H, (5) the section about Jounpore where there were five Kings during

[1] There are slight differences in the sequence of the sections and in the periods during which the kingdoms lasted in the MSS collated and in the lithographed edition

[2] The number of years from 574 to 1002 comes to 428, but the MSS as well as the lithographed edition read 448 years

a period of ninety-seven years; (6) the section about Mālwah in which there were twelve Kings during a period of one hundred and fifty-eight years, (7) the section about Kashmir with twenty-six Kings during a period of two hundred and forty-five years; (8) the section about Sind with twenty-one Kings during a period of two hundred and thirty-six years, and (9) the section about Multān where there were five Kings during a period of eighty years The concluding section will contain a description of certain peculiarities about Hindustān and various miscellaneous matters.

THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION : CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNĪN[1]

The Kings were—

1. Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn Sabuktigīn, who reigned for twenty years.
2. Sulṭān Mahmūd Yemīnuddowlah, who reigned for thirty-five years.
3. Sulṭān Muhammad, son of Sulṭān Mahmūd, whose reign lasted for fifty days.
4. Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Mahmūd, who reigned for eleven years
5. Sulṭān Maudūd, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, whose reign lasted for nine years.
6. Sulṭān Muhammad, son of Maudūd, whose reign lasted for only five days.
7. Sulṭān 'Alı, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for only three months.
8. 'Abdur Rashīd, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for four years.
9. Farrukh Nizād, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for six years.
10. Ibrahim, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for thirty years, and according to some, for forty-two years
11. Mas'ūd, son of Ibrahim, who ruled for sixteen years.
12. Arslān Shāh, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for three years.
13. Bahrām Shāh, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for thirty-five years.
14. Khusro Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh, who ruled for eight years.
15. Khusro Malik, son of Khusro Shāh, who ruled for twenty-eight years.

[1] The names of the Kings have been given with some differences in the MSS collated and in the lithographed edition, MS B gives an extremely confused and incorrect list, MS C only contains twelve names.

I. Amīr Nāsiruddīn Sabuktigīn

He was a slave of Turkish descent, belonging to Alb-tigīn, who in his turn was a slave of Amīr Mansūr, the son of Nūh, the Sāmānī, who attained to the rank of[1] Āmīr ul Umrā in the service of the latter. During the time when Amīr Mansūr flourished Amīr Nāsiruddīn came to Bukhārā, in the company of Abu Is-hāk, the son of Alb-tigīn, and in his service, attained to the rank of his agent When Abu Is-hāk became the governor of Ghaznīn, as Deputy of Amīr Mansūr, he left the work of the government in the hands of Amīr Nāsiruddīn, whose rule acquired complete stability and strength When Abu Is-hāk departed to the other world, leaving no heir behind him, the army and the people consented to the rule of [2]Amīr Nāsiruddīn and swore allegiance to him He then commenced the work of government with great energy, and raised the standard of conquest

In the year 367 A H Tughān, who had been the ruler of the territory of Bast, but had been dispossessed by a man of the name of Pātiūz, came to Amīr Nāsiruddīn and besought him for help. Amīr Nāsiruddīn advanced with his troops, wrested Bast from Pātiūz, and made it over to Tughān, who agreed to pay a large tribute, and entered into an engagement that he would never stray from the path of allegiance He afterwards broke the engagement, and Amīr Nāsiruddīn dispossessed him of the territory, and left his own agent there

As the fort of Kusdār was in the neighbourhood of his territory, and its ruler asserted his independence, Amīr Nāsiruddīn suddenly surprised him, and made him prisoner, but in the end placed him

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[1] According to the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsiri Alb-tigīn was the Amīr-i-hajib or Lord Chamberlain of Manṣūr (see Ṭab-i-Nās translation, p 71)

[2] Is-hāk was succeeded by Amīr Balkātigīn, who ruled for ten years according to the text of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsiri It appears however that Is-hāk died in 355 A H. and Balkātigīn in 362 A H, so that the rule of the latter lasted only for seven years On the death of Balkātigīn, Pīrey, another slave of Alb-tigīn succeeded to the government, but he was deposed in 367 A H when the government passed to Sabuktigīn (see Ṭab-i-Nās trans, pp 72-73).

in the ranks of his servants; and confirmed him in the government of Kusdār.

After this, with kingly energy and determination, he girded up his loins for a war of religion, and invaded Hindustān, and carried away many prisoners of war and other plunder, and in every country, which he conquered, he founded mosques, and he endeavoured to ruin and desolate the territories of Rājā Jaipāl who, at that time, was the ruler of Hindustān. Jaipāl being much distressed by the invasion of his Kingdom, and the desolation brought on it thereby, attacked Amīr Nāsiruddīn with a well-equipped army, in which there were many huge elephants The Amīr advanced to meet him, and encountered him near the boundary of his own territory A bloody battle ensued, in which Amīr Mahmūd, the son of Amīr Nāsiruddīn, showed much courage and great heroism. The two armies remained, confronting each other for some days, during which, several sanguinary conflicts occurred They say, that there was a spring in that neighbourhood, into which if by any chance any dirt or filth was cast, storm arose and heavy snow and rain fell Amīr Mahmūd ordered that filth might be thrown into the spring, and when this was done, there was much wind, and a heavy fall of snow, and Jaipāl's troops, who were not accustomed to the cold, suffered much distress, and many horses and other animals died Jaipāl in great distress struck the door of peace, and it was settled that he should send fifty elephants and much treasure to Amīr Nāsiruddīn, and should leave some of his trusted followers as hostages, and should take with him some of the trusted adherents of Amīr Nāsiruddīn; so that he might make over to them the treasure and the elephants

When, however, he reached his own country he broke his engagement, and imprisoned the agents of Amīr Nāsiruddīn, in retaliation, for the imprisonment of the men whom he had left as hostages When Amīr Nāsiruddīn heard this, he advanced with his troops, with the determination of taking a signal revenge Jaipāl sought the help of the other Rājās of Hindustān, and collecting about a hundred thousand mounted troops and many elephants, advanced to meet him, and the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Lamghān, and a great battle took place Amīr Nāsiruddīn was victorious, and much booty, in the shape of prisoners of war, and elephants, and treasure, fell into his hands. Jaipāl fled into Hindustān, and the Lamghān country came

into the possession of Amīr Nāsiruddīn, and his name was inserted in the prayers, and impressed on the coinage of that country.

After this, he went to assist Amīr Nūh, the son of Manṣūr, the Sāmānī; and in Khurāsān, and in Māwar-un-nahar, he gained many victories; and in the month of Sh'abān in the year 387 A.H he said 'here I am' to the summons of the great God. The period of his rule extended over twenty years.

II SULTĀN MAHMŪD SABUKTIGĪN

After the death of Sabuktigīn, Amīr Ismail, who was his eldest son, sat in his place, and wished to deprive Amīr Mahmūd of his heritage, but the latter vanquished him, and succeeded his father. He marched his armies towards Balkh, and brought the country of Khurāsān under his rule When he had cleared that country of the weeds and thorns of his enemies, and the sound of the kettle-drum of his greatness had spread in all directions, the Caliph of Baghdād, Al-kadir-Billah Abbasi, sent him a robe of honour, more splendid than any which had been previously sent by any Caliph to any Bādshāh, and conferred on him the title of Amīr-ul-millat wa Yemin-ud-Dowlat [1]

In the latter part of Zi-il-k'ād 390 A.H. the Sulṭān went from Balkh[2] to Hirāt, and from there he went to Sistān,[3] and having defeated

[1] So in the MSS and in the lithographed edition, but the name and titles as given in the Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 75, are Sulṭān ul'āzam Yemin-ud-Dowlah Nizāmuddīn Abul Kāsim Mahmūd-i-Ghāzi The titles of Sulṭān and Yemin-ud-Dowlah he received from the Caliph of Baghdād, when he received the robe of honour as mentioned below But according to another version, he was first addressed as Sulṭān by Khalaf, when the latter was brought before him, after he had taken the fortress of Tāk in Sijistan by assault Mahmūd, it is said, was so pleased, that he spared Khalaf's life.

[2] In the previous year 369 A H Mahmūd fought a battle against 'Abdul Mālik, son of Nūh Sāmānī Shortly after this the Sāmānī dynasty terminated; and the independence of Mahmūd may be dated from this year. Sabuktigīn had made Balkh his capital some time before this, and it was at this time the capital of Mahmūd's dominions It appears however that he made Ghaznīn his capital soon afterwards, as from 392 A H he appears to have started in his expeditions from Ghaznīn, and returned there in the spring

[3] Also called Sijistan. Mahmūd captured the fortress of Tāk by assault and made Khalaf prisoner

Khalaf, the son of Ahmad, the ruler of that country, brought him to Ghaznīn. From Ghaznīn he turned his attention to Hindustān; seized a few fortresses and returned.

He then entered into an alliance with Ailak Khān,[1] and it was settled between them, that Māwar-un-nahar should belong to Ailak Khān, and all the rest to the Sulṭān

In the month of Shawwāl 391 A.H. the Sulṭān again invaded Hindustān from Ghaznīn, and with ten thousand horsemen attacked Parshāvar[2] Rājā Jaipāl with ten or twelve thousand horsemen, a large number of foot soldiers, and three hundred elephants, advanced to meet him, and arrayed his troops in the field of battle. The two armies fought with each other and showed much gallantry, but in the end, victory fell to Sulṭān Mahmūd. Rājā Jaipāl, with fifteen of his sons and brothers, was taken prisoner, and five thousand of the infidels were slain in the battle. It is said that Jaipāl wore round his neck a jewelled necklace, which is called a Mālā in the language of Hindustān, which experts valued at one hundred and eighty thousand *Dīnārs*, and there were also necklaces of great value round the necks of his brothers This battle took place on Saturday, the 8th Muharram 392 A H From that place the Sulṭān went to Bahinda,[3] which was the place of residence of Jaipāl, and conquered that country; and in the spring returned to Ghaznīn

In the Muharram of 393 A H he again went to Sīstān, and having again defeated Khalaf brought him to Ghaznīn. He then again invaded Hindustān, and with the object of seizing Bhātiāh, he marched through the territory of Multān and encamped in front of Bhātiāh Bahira, Rājā of that place, who was proud of his large army, the number of his elephants and the strength of his fortress, left his troops to oppose the Sulṭān, and went himself with a few followers to the bank of the Sind or

[1] This appears to have taken place in 396 A H when Sulṭān Mahmūd sent an envoy to Ailak Khān, the Turk, son of Baghra Khān, proposing the alliance, and the division of territory The Sāmānī dynasty had now ceased to exist, the last representative having been put to death

[2] There is much doubt as to whether this is identical with the modern Peshawar, because the latter city was generally called Bagrām up to the time of Bābar and Akbar

[3] This place has been identified by Major Raverty with Bathinda situated in the S W. corner of Patiala territory (See note 2, p 76 of his trans. of the Ṭab-i-Nās)

Indus river. When the Sulṭān came to know this, he sent some troops to attack the Rājā, and the latter being surrounded by these troops, put an end to his existence by stabbing himself with his dagger, and his head was brought to the Sulṭān The Sulṭān put many of his adherents to the sword, and having acquired much plunder in the shape of prisoners and elephants, and the delicate products of Hindustān, returned to Ghaznīn Among the booty, there were two hundred and eighty elephants

It is said that as Dāud, the son of Nasr, the ruler of Multān, belonged to the sect of the Mulāhida, the Sulṭān was incited by his zeal for religion to punish him He therefore advanced towards Multān, and with the object of taking him by surprise took a contrary or roundabout route Ānandpāl, the son of Jaipāl, who had to be passed, opposed his march, and the Sulṭān ordered his troops to give him battle and devastate and plunder his country Ānandpāl being discomfited fled to the mountains of Kashmīr, and the Sulṭān marching along the Indus[1] reached Multān which he besieged for seven days. The ruler of Multān agreed to pay an annual tribute of twenty thousand dirams, and engaged to follow the dictates of true religion and foreswore his errors The Sulṭān having entered into a treaty with him on these terms returned to Ghaznīn This happened in the year 396 A H

In the year 397 A H. he was occupied with warfare with the Turks, as is mentioned in more comprehensive histories, and when in Rabi'ul Ākhar 398 A H he became disengaged from that war with victory and renown, intelligence was received that Sukhpal, the grandson of the Rājā of Hindustān, who had been taken prisoner by Abu 'Ali Simjuri and had accepted Islām at his hands, had taken the path of recusancy and had fled. Sulṭān Mahmūd pursued him, and having captured him put him in prison, and he died in captivity

In the year 399 A H the Sulṭān invaded India again, and having fought with and defeated Ānandpāl took thirty elephants and much other booty from him He then went to Bhīmnagar,[2] and besieged it.

[1] The meaning is not clear The lithographed edition and MSS B and C have هدد مراه while MS A has سدد مراه I have adopted the latter reading

[2] The same as Kangra or Nagar Kot

Those in the fort made their submission and opened the gates. The Sulṭān with a few chosen companions went into the fort and seizing the treasure and the silver, and gold and diamonds, which had been gathered together from the time of Bhīm, returned. He ordered that some thrones of gold and silver should be placed in front of his pavilion, and all the treasure should be thrown in an extensive plain so that the soldiers and the people were struck with wonder at the sight of them This happened in the beginning of the year 400 A H.

Again in the year 401 A H the Sulṭān, defender of the faith, marched from Ghaznīn and took possession of the part of the Multān territory which he had not previously conquered, and he put most of the schismatics and heretics who were there to the sword, and he cut off the hands of some, and ordered others to be imprisoned in a fort where they died, and this year he took Dāūd, the son of Nasr, to Ghaznīn and sent him to the fort of Ghurak, where he was imprisoned and where he afterwards died

The Sulṭān now received information that there was a city in Hindustān called Thanessar, and there was a great temple there in which there was an idol called Jagarsom, whom the people of Hindustān worshipped He collected a large force with the object of carrying on a religious war, and in the year 402 A H marched towards Thanessar. The son[1] of Jaipāl having received intelligence of this, sent an envoy and represented through him, that if the Sulṭān would relinquish this enterprise, he would send fifty elephants as tribute The Sulṭān paid no heed to this offer, and when he reached Thanessar he found the city empty The soldiers ravaged and plundered whatever they could lay hands upon, broke the idols and carried Jagarsom to Ghaznīn. The Sulṭān ordered that the idol should be placed in front of the place of prayer, so that the people would trample upon it.

In the year 403 A H. the Sulṭān conquered Gharjistān[2] and

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[1] The readings vary, the different readings being "Jaipāl", "the son of Jaipāl" and "Naro Jaipāl", which is probably meant for Trilochanpāl the grandson of Jaipāl.

[2] The country is called Gharishtān by some In the lithographed edition no name or title of the ruler is given In MSS A & B his title is given as *Shar*, and in MS C as *Sharki* It would appear from note 5, p 80 of the trans of the Ṭab-i-Nās, that the particular Shār who was defeated by Mahmūd was named Abu Naṣr, the son of the Shār Rashīd

brought the ruler of that country, who was styled the Shār, prisoner with him, and at the end of that year Abul Fawāris, the son of Baha-ud-dowla, sought the protection of Sultān Mahmūd from the tyranny of his brothers The Sultān wrote letters to them, so that peace was established among them

The same year an envoy came from the ruler of Egypt, who was called Thārti [1] The learned men and the great lawyers told the Sulṭān that this envoy held the tenets of the Karāmita [2] The Sultān accordingly ordered him to be denounced and driven out of his dominions

In the year 404 A H the Sulṭān marched against the fort of Nandanah which is situated among the Bālnāth hills Naro Jaipāl [3] left tried warriors for the protection of the fort, and went himself into the valley of Kashmīr The Sultān on arrival at Nandanah surrounded the fort and began to run mines and to take all other measures which were necessary for its capture The people in the fort surrendered it, on receiving assurances for their safety Sultān Mahmūd entered the fort with a few of his personal attendants, and took away all the treasures and valuable articles which were there, [4] and appointing Sarigh to be the Kotwāl or Superintendent of the fort, turned his face towards the valley of Kashmīr, where Naro Jaipāl was The latter fled from that place also, and the Sulṭān entering the valley carried away much booty, in the shape of prisoners of war and gold, and after converting many of the infidels to Islām, and laying the foundations of Islām, went back to Ghaznīn

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[1] The lithographed edition calls him Mahārathi and the three MSS A, B and C call him Tharti, Farti and Niharni

[2] The lithographed edition and MSS give different readings The lithographed edition says در مذهب قرامطه ست MS A says در مذهب با طالبان است MS B has در مذهب باطنیانست MS C tries to simplify matters by saying در مذهب سلطان بود

[3] See note 1, p 7

[4] MS C gives a different reading of the passage It reads "and Jaipāl who had previously been made a prisoner, and was now engaged in company with the Sulṭān, in endeavouring to capture the fort, made great efforts to capture it, and finding a suitable opportunity, and the Sulṭān's men negligent, fled from the place The Sulṭān entering that valley took much booty," etc , etc , as in the other MSS , and in the lithographed edition

Again in the year 406 A H the Sulṭān advanced into Kashmīr, and besieged the fort of Lohkot[1] which was celebrated for its height and strength, but there was much wind and snow, and the winter became severe, and the Kashmirians received reinforcements, so he abandoned the siege, and in the spring returned to Ghaznīn

The same year[2] Abū-l-Abbās-i-Mamun, the Shāh of Khwārizm, wrote letters to Mahmūd and asked for his sister in marriage, and the Sulṭān, according to the request, sent his sister to Khwārizm. In the year 407 A H a band of low people attacked the Shāh of Khwārizm, and slew him The Sultān advanced from Ghaznīn to Balkh and from there attempted to invade Khwārizm, and when he arrived at Hasarband, which is the boundary of that country, he sent forward Muhammad, the son of Ibrahīm Tā'ī, in command of an advanced guard When these encamped at a place, and were engaged in morning prayers, Khamār Tāsh, the commander of the army of Khwārizm, came out of ambush, attacked them, and having slain a large number dispersed the rest When the Sultān received this news, he sent a large body of his personal slaves[3] in pursuit of

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[1] The name of the fort is variously given The lithographed edition calls it کورب کوه, MS A simply کوه MS B لوه دوب and MS C دود کورب Lohkot was the old name of Lahore, as according to tradition it was founded by Laba or Loh one of the two sons of Rāma It cannot, however be said with certainty that the Lohkot here mentioned is identical with Lahore

[2] According to Raverty (see notes 8 and 9 p 81 of his trans of the Tab-i-Nās) Abul-'Abbās-i-Māmun Farīghūnī, ruler of Jurjāniah in Khwārizm, was Mahmūd's son-in-law, and he was murdered by some of his troops in 407 A H It appears that Mahmūd's daughter was married in 387 A H to 'Alī, the son of Māmun son of Muhammad Al Farighūnī, the Walī or ruler of Jurjāniah 'Alī died in 390 A H and was succeeded by his brother Abul 'Abbās He in the following year sent an envoy supposed to be Abū Rihān Al Biruni (who has been so much depended upon for his knowledge of India) asking permission to marry the lady, his brother's widow According to our author he again asked Sulṭān Mahmud in 406 A H for the latter's sister as another wife Khwārizm was the country lying along the banks of the Oxus or Jihun and extending to the Caspian Sea

[3] The Court of Sulṭān Mahmūd was guarded by 4 000 Turkish youths, who when they attained unto man's estate and their beards began to grow were attached to a separate corps

Khamār Tāsh, and they seized him and brought him before the Sultān When the Sultān reached the fortress of Hazārasp, the army of Khwārizm came and met him in great strength and numbers There was a great battle, and finally the army of Khwārizm was vanquished, and Alptigīn[1] Bukhāri, who was their commander, was taken prisoner The Sultān advanced with his army into Khwārizm, and first sentenced the murderers of Abul-'Abbās to death, and made over Khwārizm and Arganj[2] to his own Lord Chamberlain Altuntāsh, after conferring on him the title of Shāh of Khwārizm From Khwārizm the Sultān came to Balkh and conferred the country of Hirāt on his son Amīr Mas'ūd, and sent Abusahl[3] Muhammad bin Husen Rauzāni with him as his agent, and he made over Kurkan to Amīr Muhammad and sent Abu Bakr Kuhtani[3] with him

In the year 409 A H Sultān Mahmūd advanced with his army with the intention of conquering the country of Kannouj, crossed seven terrible rivers, and when he reached the boundary of Kannouj, Korah,[4] the ruler of the country made his submission, besought the Sultān's protection and paid tribute From Kannouj the Sultān advanced to Baran,[5] where the Rājā whose name was Hardat, left the fort in charge of his tribesmen and relatives, and himself went into seclusion The garrison, being unable to withstand the Sultān, paid a tribute of a thousand times thousand dirams which would be equivalent to two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, and thirty elephants, and thus obtained safety From that place, the Sultān came to the fortress of Mahāwan, which is situated on the bank of the Jun (or Jumna), and the ruler of that fort, whose name was Kulchandra, attempted to escape across the river on an elephant The Sultān's

[1] Raverty calls him Maltigīn but says he has been called Albtigīn by Baihaki (see note 9, p 81 of his trans of the Tab-i-Nās)

[2] Arganj was a city in Khurāsān

[3] These names are variously given in the lithographed edition and in the MSS collated

[4] So in the lithographed edition and in the MSS, he was probably however not the Rājā of Kannouj but of some fort or territory on the way The name of the Rājā of Kannouj was Rājyapāl Parihār, though that name does not occur in this history

[5] The modern Bulandshahr According to other historians Hardab Hardat of Abul Kadir-i-Badāūni, and Hirdat of the Jami'uttawārikh, was the Rājā of Mathurah

troops pursued him, and when they came up to him, he slew himself with his dagger

> When to live, doth add to one's enemy's joy,
> Tis better far to die than live

The fort was captured, and eighty-five elephants, and plunder beyond all calculation, fell into the hands of the army of Islām

From that place, the Sultān advanced to Mathurah, which is a large city containing many temples It is the birthplace of Kishan (Krishna) the son of Bāsdeo, a god whom the Hindus believe to be the incarnation (literally the place of descent or alighting) of the great self-existent one In short, when the Sultān arrived in this city, no one came forward to give him battle, and the Sultān's army completely destroyed the city and burnt the temples, and obtained boundless wealth There was one golden idol, which was broken up under the orders of the Sultān, which weighed 98,300 Miskāls[1] of pure gold They found a precious stone,[2] the weight of which was 450 Miskāls They say that Chānd Rāy, who was one of the Rājās of Hindustān, had an elephant which was of immense size, and was highly renowned The Sultān wanted to buy it, and offered a large price, but could not get it It so happened that, at the time of the return of the Sultān from Kannouj, one night this elephant ran away without its driver, and came to the vicinity of the Sultān's pavilion The latter took possession of it, made great rejoicings and named it "the gift of God" When he reached Ghaznīn, he had the booty obtained in the expedition to Kannouj counted, it amounted to twenty *dand*[3] or a thousand times thousand dirams, and fifty-three thousand prisoners of war, and three hundred and[4] fifty elephants

[1] A Miskāl was the $\frac{1}{600}$th part of a seer

[2] The precious stone is called a Yākūt-i-kuhlī A yakūt is either a ruby or a sapphire, the adjective means that it was of the colour of kuhl or collyrium

[3] The meaning is not clear The lithographed edition reads بیست دند یا هزار هزار درم آمد (i e, it came to twenty dand (?) or a thousand times thousand dirams) MS A reads دست و اند دار هزار درم آمد MS B has دهزاررم آمد بدست و اند دار هزار and MS C هست و آمد بار هزار آمد—none of which readings are intelligible

[4] There is a word دادد between پدماه and فیل in the lithographed edition

It has been handed down, that when the Sulṭān heard that a Rājā of the name of Nandā[1] had slain the Rājā of Kannouj, because the latter had submitted and rendered allegiance to him he formed a strong resolution to destroy Nandā, and in the year 410 A H he again invaded Hindustān, and when he reached the river Jun, Naro Jaipāl, who had several times fled before his armies, encamped in front of it now, in order to help and assist Nandā As the river was deep no one could cross it without the permission of the Sultān But in some unexplained manner, sixty of the personal slaves or guards of the Sultān suddenly crossed the river, threw the army of Naro Jaipāl into confusion, and routed it Naro Jaipāl with some of the infidels escaped The slaves did not come back to the Sultān, but attacked the town, which was in the neighbourhood, and finding it empty, plundered and ravaged it, and destroyed the idol temples

From that place the Sultān advanced towards the kingdom of Nandā The latter prepared for battle and collected an immense army It is said that this army consisted of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers, and 390 elephants[2] When the Sultān encamped in front of Nandā's army, he first sent an envoy to him, and invited him to submit, and to accept Islām Nandā refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection After that the Sultān went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at, and make an estimate of, the strength of Nandā's army Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming, and placing the *forehead of supplication on the ground* of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the Giver of all Mercies In the night a great fear fell on the heart of Nandā, and he fled with a few special companions, leaving the army and all the munitions of war behind

The next morning, when the Sultān heard this, he mounted his

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and in MS A in MS B it is اود In MS C there is nothing between the two words I cannot make out the meaning of ولاد or ولد

[1] The name is so given in the MSS as well as in the lithographed edition The correct name appears to have been Gandā the Chāndel Rājā of Kālanjar which was situated in what is now the Banda District

[2] These numbers are taken from the lithographed edition, but there are variations in the MSS MS A gives the infantry at 105,000, and all the three MSS give the number of the elephants at 610

horse, and after having all the places where the enemy might be in ambush carefully searched, examined the traces of the hostile army, and when he was satisfied that no deception or treachery was intended, he stretched out his hand for destruction and plunder Immense quantities of booty fell into the hands of the army of Islām *They also accidentally found five hundred and eighty elephants* belonging to the army of Nandā in a wood, which was included in the booty

At the same time intelligence was brought that there were two valleys called Kīrāt and Nūr, the inhabitants of which were heathens and had strongholds The Sulṭān ordered his troops to be assembled, and he advanced towards that country, taking with him a large body of blacksmiths, carpenters and stone-cutters When he reached that country he first attacked Kīrāt, this is a cold country in which large quantities of fruit are grown, and the people of the country worship[1] The ruler of that forest land made his submission, and all the inhabitants of that country also attained to the happiness of Islām Sāhib 'Alī ibn Alat Arslan[2] was nominated for the conquest of Nūr He advanced into the country, conquered it, and laid the foundation of a fort, and left after nominating 'Alī ibn Kadr Jūk to be its Kotwāl or commandant Islām spread in that country also, in some cases with the consent of the people, and in others in spite of their opposition

In the year 412 A H the Sultān invaded Kashmīr and laid siege to the fort of Lohkot[3] He remained there for a month, but as, owing to its strength and inaccessibility, he was unable to take it, he left the place and advanced towards Lahore and Bakrah[4] The troops dispersed

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[1] What they worship is not clear The lithographed edition reads پرستند مردم آن شهر مي while the MSS read شعر پرستند

[2] This name is differently given in the lithographed edition and in the MSS In the former it is given as I have given it in the text In MS A it is written Sāhib 'Alī ibn Ilar Musalmān, MS B gives it as Sāhib 'Alī bin Ilar slan while MS C altogether omits the part of the sentence in which his appointment is mentioned

[3] This is the fort already mentioned in page 9 The lithographed edition and MSS A and B agree in calling it Lohkot, MS C calls it لوده كوت

[4] The lithographed edition calls this place Bakrah MS A calls it Bakor, and MS B Bakhrah MS C has left out the name altogether

themselves among the foot-hills, plundering and ravaging, and booty beyond all calculation fell into the hands of the army of Islām In the beginning of spring, the Sulṭān returned to Ghaznīn crowned with victory and renown

In the year 413 A.H. he again invaded the kingdom of Nandā, and when he reached the fortress of Gwālior, he laid siege to it At the end of four days, the commandant of the fort sent envoys, and offering a tribute of thirty-five elephants, prayed for protection The Sultān accepted these terms, and advancing to the fort of Kālanjar, which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustān for strength and impregnability besieged it The siege lasted for a considerable time, when Nandā, the ruler of the fort, offered three hundred elephants as a tribute, and begged for safety When these elephants were let loose from inside the fort without any drivers, the Sultān ordered that the Turks should catch hold of, and mount them The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle, and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks Nandā then sent some verses, which he had composed in the Hindi tongue, in praise of the Sultān The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustān, and other poets who were in attendance on him They all praised them The Sultān sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of fifteen fortresses, and other presents in return for them Nandā also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultān From that place the Sultān returned (to Ghaznīn) with victory and triumph

In the year 414 A.H. the Sultān had a muster taken of his troops, and it was found, that over and above the troops that were in garrison in various parts of his dominion, there were 54,000 mounted troops and 1,300 elephants

In the year 415 A.H. the Sultān went to Balkh At the time, the people of Māwar-un-nahr complained of the oppression of 'Ali Tigīn, and the Sulṭān resolved upon punishing him, and crossed the Jihun with that purpose The Sardārs of Māwar-un-nahr hastened one by one to welcome him and each according to his rank and circumstances offered tribute Yusuf Kadr Khān, who was the ruler of the whole of Turkistan, also came to welcome him, and met him in the way of friendship and affection. The Sultān rejoiced at his coming, and arranged festive meetings, and they sent presents to each other The

Sulṭān sent him the delicate products of Hindustān, brilliant gems, and huge elephants, and they separated from each other in peace and goodwill 'Ali Tigīn hearing of the Sultān's intentions fled The Sultān sent men to seize him They made him prisoner, and brought him before the Sultān The latter ordered him to be imprisoned, and sent him to one of the forts of Hindustān He then returned to Ghaznīn and passed the winter there

Then in accordance with his custom, he advanced with his army towards Hindustān with the object of the conquest of Somnāth This is a large city on the shore of the sea, and is a place of worship of the Brāhmans There were many golden idols in the temple in the city, and the largest of these idols was called Manāt [1] I have read in historical works that before the advent of the last of the prophets, may God pour peace and blessings on him! this idol was taken out of the house Ka aba, and was brought here, but it appears from the ancient books of the Brāhmans, that this is not so This idol has been the object of the adoration of the Brāhmans from the time of Kishan (Krishna), which was four thousand years ago, and according to the Brāhmans, it was here that Kishan disappeared

In short, when the Sultān reached the city of Nahrwālā Patan, he found it empty He ordered that grain might be collected, and then he took the way to Somnāth When he reached Somnāth, the inhabitants shut the gate on his face After much fighting and great struggles the fort was taken, and the [2]methods of plunder and destruction were carried into effect, and vast multitudes were killed and taken prisoner The temples were pulled down, and destroyed from their very foundations The idol Somnāth was broken to pieces, and one piece was sent to Ghaznīn, and was placed at the gate of the Jāme' Masjid, and for years it remained there

The Sultān raised his standard with the intention of returning, but as Param Deo, one of the most powerful of the Rājās of Hindustān, had to be met on the way, and he did not consider it advisable to fight with him at that time, under all the circumstances, he turned

[1] One of the chief idols of the Pagans of Mecca, before the preaching of Islām, was named Manāt

[2] The phrase is curious لوازم غارت و تاراج بعمل آمد

towards Multān by way of Sindh His troops suffered great privations *en route*, in some places, on account of scarcity of water, and in others, for want of fodder, but at last, after suffering great distress and hardship, he reached Ghaznīn in the year 417 A H

In this year the Caliph Al-kādir-Billāh wrote a letter to the Sultān, and sent him the standards of Khurāsān and Hindustān and Nimroz and Khwārizm, and he bestowed titles on the Sulṭān, and his sons and brothers, in that letter The Sulṭān received the title of Kahf-ud-dowlah wal Islām (the cave or asylum of the state and of Islām), Amīr Mas'ud that of Shahab-ud-dowlat wa Jamāl-ul-Millat (the bright star of the state and the beauty of religion), Amīr Muhammad that of Jalāl-ud-dowlat wa Jamāl-ul-Millat (the greatness of the state and the beauty of religion), and Amir Yusuf that of 'Azd-ud-dowlat wa Muid-ul-Millat (the strength of the state and the help of religion), and he wrote in the letter, that he would recognise any of these, whom he might declare to be his heir and successor This letter reached the Sultān at Balkh

The same year the Sultān undertook an expedition to punish the Jats, who had, at the time of his return from Somnāth, behaved improperly towards his army, and had caused them much annoyance He advanced towards Multān with a large force, and when he reached Multān ordered that a fleet of one thousand and four hundred boats should be constructed, and that three very strong iron bars or branches should be firmly fixed on each boat, one in front and two on the two sides, so that anything which might strike against them would be broken into small bits and would altogether disappear, and placing twenty men armed with bows and arrows in each boat, and large flasks of naphthā, he went forward to attack the Jats The Jats, being warned (of these preparations), sent their wives and families to the islands, and thus unencumbered made ready to oppose him They had four thousand, and according to another report, eight thousand boats on the river, and they placed a number of armed men on each of them, and thus prepared for battle and bloodshed. When the two armies met each other, there was a great conflict Each one of the boats of the Jats, when it came in front of one of the Sulṭān's boats, and struck one of the branches, was rent asunder, and sank In this way the whole of the Jats were drowned, and those who escaped drowning were cut to pieces. The Sulṭān's army then fell upon their

families, and made them prisoners, and the Sulṭān returned victorious to Ghaznīn

In the year 419 A H the Sulṭān deputed Amīr Ṭus Abul Harb Arslan to Bāward[1] that he might go and extirpate the Turkmans After much fighting, Amīr Tus wrote to the Sultān that it would not be possible to check the disturbances created by the Turkmans, unless he came there in person So the Sultān went and extirpated the Turkmans He then went on to Rei, and without any exertion or any trouble took possession of buried treasures and wealth, which the rulers of the country had accumulated in the course of many ages There were large numbers of infidels and schismatics in these parts Every one who was proved to be one, was sentenced to death The countries of Rei and Isfahān were conferred on Amīr Mas'ud, and the Sultān returned to Ghaznīn

In a short time after this, the Sultān was attacked with a hectic fever, and the disease became worse daily, and he was able with great difficulty to show himself to the people, as if he still possessed his former strength In this condition he proceeded to Balkh, and when spring came, he returned to Ghaznīn, and there he died of the same disease on Thursday the 23rd of Rabī ul Akhar[2] 421 A H May the mercy of God be upon him His reign extended over a period of thirty-five years

They say, that when he was suffering the agony of death, the Sultān ordered that all his wealth and the beautiful things which he had collected should be placed before his eyes He grieved over his approaching separation from them, and sighed bitterly, but did not give the smallest thing to anybody He led twelve expeditions into India and carried on religious warfare

III JALĀL-UD-DOWLAH JAMĀL-UL-MILLAT MUHAMMAD THE SON OF MAHMŪD

At the time that Sultān Mahmūd departed from this world Amīr Mahmūd was in Isfahān[3] and Amīr Muhammad in Gurgān

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[1] The name of the place is not clear No name is given in the lithographed edition MS A reads like باور وسا MS B وما ورد وسا MS C داوردوں

[2] Major Raverty quoting from the Mukāmāt of the Amīd Abu Nasr says that Mahmud died on Thursday, the 14th Rabi'us Sāni 421 A H

[3] According to the Tab-i-Nās he was in 'Irāk of which he was governor Major

[1]Amīr 'Alī bin Ail Arslān, who was related to Sultān Mahmūd, summoned Amīr Muhammad, and placed him on the throne at Ghaznīn Amīr Muhammad first turned his attention towards the oppressed, thought carefully about the matter, and endeavoured to increase the population and the wealth of the kingdom He also opened the doors of his treasuries and bestowed riches on high and low He appointed Yākūb, the son of Yusuf, the son of Nāsiruddīn, who was his uncle, to be the commander of his army, and conferred a robe of honour on him, and Khwājah [2]Abu Sahl Ahmad bin al Hasan al Hamdouni was made minister, and entrusted with all affairs of government Cheapness and prosperity appeared in his time, and merchants came from all directions to Ghaznīn, and the people and the troops lived in all happiness In spite of this, the hearts of the people inclined towards Amīr Shihāb-ud-dowlah Abu Sa'īd Mas'ūd, and after the lapse of fifty days from the death of Sultān Mahmūd, Amīr Āyāz entered into an agreement with the royal slaves or guards, that they would go to Mas'ūd, and they all bound one another with oaths, and sent a man to Abu'l Hassan 'Alī bin 'Abdullah who was called 'Alī Dāyah, and made him also join them The next day the slaves assembled together, entered the stables, and mounting the horses specially set apart for the Sultān, came out with much haughtiness, and started towards Bast Amīr Muhammad sent [3]Sondi Rāi Hindu with a large army in pursuit of them, and when they met, there was a great battle Sondi Rāi and a large number of the Hindus were killed, and many of the slaves were also slain and their heads were sent to Amīr Muhammad Āyāz and 'Alī Dāyah marched on with the slaves till they met Amīr Mas'ūd at Nishāpur They did him homage He was much pleased,

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Raverty says he appears to have been at Hamadān, but one author at least says he was in Isfahān

[1] So in the lithographed edition and in MS A MS B has امير علي بن ابي الارسلان and MS C امير على بن رسلان Fasih-i calls him 'Alī Kheshawand the Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, 'Alī, son of Jyal Arslān He is also called Alī Kurbat and 'Alī Karim

[2] So in MSS A and B, the lithographed edition has Sahel instead of Sahl, MS C gives the name as Khwājah Abu Sahel Ahmed bin Abu'l Hasan wardi In the Ṭab-i-Nās (note 8, p 89, trans) he is simply called Khwājah Abu Sahl

[3] It is curious that there were already Hindu troops in the army, and a Hindu general was in command of them

spoke of the fatigue of their journey, and enquired of the state of things generally.

Amīr Muhammad was at Ghaznīn, in the enjoyment of pleasure and happiness After four months had passed in this way he ordered that his pavilion should be moved towards Bast, and he started from Ghaznīn with much pomp When they reached Tigīnābād all the commanders of the army joined together, and sent a message to Amīr Muhammad telling him, that as all the people wanted to submit to Amīr Mas'ūd and do him homage, and it was certain that he (Muhammad) would not be able to withstand him, it would be better that he should go and sit in his own place (i e seek an asylum somewhere), and that they should go to him and make excuses to him for themselves and for him, and he might summon him to his presence, and he and they might escape with their lives The Amīr saw no other alternative than to accept this proposal Then Amīr Yusuf and 'Ali Hājib and other commanders of the army placed Amīr Muhammad in the fort of Zabh [1] The whole of the army, with all the treasure, then marched towards Amīr Mas'ūd, and went to Hirāt The rule of Muhammad did not extend beyond five months

IV Abu-Sa'īd Mas'ūd bin Yemin-ud-Dowlah Sultān Mahmūd

When Āyāz, the son of Āymāk, and 'Ali Dāyah went to Amīr Mas'ūd in Nishāpur, the latter feeling confidence in his powers, turned his attention to the administration of justice After a few days, Abu Sahl Mursil bin Mansur bin Aflaj Gurdaizi brought a standard from the Amīr-ul-Mauminin Al-kadir-Billāh, and became the recipient of many favours and much kindness Amīr Mas'ūd then came to Hirāt from Nishāpur 'Ali Hājib came at this time to Amīr Mas'ūd, and received various favours The whole of the army, and the treasures also now reached Hirāt, and Amīr Mas'ūd leaving Hirāt went to Balkh, and spent the winter there

Amīr Mas'ūd then sent for Abul Kāsim Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi, who had been imprisoned in the fort of Kālanjar by

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[1] The name of the fort is not clear, in the lithographed edition it is ددم and in MSS A, B and C respectively رزم, رج, and رلم

order of Sultān Mahmūd, and made him his minister He ordered Mir Jang Mikāil[1] to be impaled, and he ordered all who had been hostile to him, and had sided with his enemies, to be executed, and having punished Amīr Ahmad bin Nialtigīn,[2] who had been the treasurer of Sultān Mahmūd, and recovered much wealth from him, sent him to Hindustān When he arrived there he revolted

At this time, Abu Tālib Rustam Majd-ud-Dowlah came to Ghaznīn from India, under the orders of Amīr Mas'ūd Amīr Husen bin Ma'dān, who was the ruler of Mekrān, complained against his brother to Amīr Mas'ūd, who ordered Mīr Tāsh Farāsh to obtain justice for him from his brother, and made him the ruler of Mekrān

Amīr Mas'ūd then came to Ghaznīn from Balkh The people of the city made rejoicings,[3] and went forward to meet him and built triumphal arches, and scattered dirams and dinārs He then started from Ghaznīn for Sipahān and Rei and when he reached Hirāt, the people of Sarakhs and Bāward complained to him of the Turkmans He sent Amīr Abu Sa'īd Abdūs bin Abdul 'Azīz with a large army against them The latter fought several times with them, and a large number of men were slain on both sides Amīr Mas'ūd's troops fought several times, and then returned

In the year 423 A H Khwājah Ahmad bin Hasan[4] received orders, and Khwājah Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad 'Abdus Samad, who was noted for his ability in state affairs, and his wisdom, became minister in his place, and going to Khwārizm made that country prosperous, and then again returned to the service of Amīr Mas'ūd The latter then returned to Ghaznīn

In the year 424 A H Amīr Mas'ūd invaded India and attacked the fort of Sarsati, which is situated in one of the Kashmīr valleys,

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[1] The name is given in the text as in MS A, in MS B it is Mikāl in MS C it is Mīkal and in the lithographed edition Biskāl

[2] The name is given as in the text in two out of the three MSS In the third it is Alptigīn In the lithographed edition it is Māhkash

[3] This is the first mention of such rejoicings and triumphal arches We will come across many such rejoicings and the erection of arches or ornamental domes later on

[4] The meaning is not quite clear In the lithographed edition and in two of the MSS the words are فرمان داوقه In the third فرمان صدور داشت. Apparently he was removed

and besieged it, and in the end seized it and obtained much booty. From that place he went back to Ghaznīn.

In the year 425 A.H. Amīr Mas'ūd invaded Āmil and Sārī. The people of that country collected together and prepared for a bloody struggle, and as the army of Ghaznīn was victorious, Ama[1] Kali Khān the Amīr of Tabaristan sent envoys and agreeing to insert the name of Mas'ūd in the Khutba or public prayers, sent his own son Bahman and his nephew Sharwin, the son of Surkhāb as hostages. Amīr Mas'ūd then turned his face towards Ghaznīn, and when he reached Nishāpur the people complained to him of the oppression of the Turkmans. Amīr Mas'ūd sent Ekta-di and Husen bin 'Ali bin Mikāil with a large force against them. When the army reached Shuma-Itfak,[2] the Turkmans came in, and represented that they were the slaves of the Amīr's threshold, and submissive to his commands. All that was necessary was, that the boundaries of their pastures should be defined, in which case they would have no concern with any one, and no one would, in any way, be molested by them. Ekta'di spoke harshly to the envoys and said, "Between us and you there is no peace except with the sword. If you submit and refrain entirely from evil deeds, and sending some one to Amīr Mas'ūd, bring a letter addressed to me from him, then only will I keep my hands off from you."

When the Turkmans heard this from the mouth of their envoys, they came forward, and there was a great battle. In the end the Turkmans were defeated, and fled from the field of battle. Ekta-di pursued them, and seized their wives and families, and obtained much plunder. When Ekta-di's troops were returning, they became dispersed in search of plunder, and Daud Turkman coming out of the rocky defiles attacked them. The battle lasted through two days and two nights. Ekta'di said to Husen bin 'Ali, "I cannot maintain my position." Husen however stood firm, and went on with the battle and was taken prisoner by the Turkmans. Ekta-di escaped, and went to Amīr Mas'ūd.

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[1] The name is doubtful. It is not given in the lithographed edition but is given in all the MSS.

[2] This name is given in the lithographed edition as سمند آتغی, in MS. A as سمید راتغای, in MS. B as سمند عغاش and in MS. C as سمد اتغای

When Amīr Mas'ūd arrived in Ghaznīn the news of the revolt of Ahmad bin Nialtigīn reached him. He sent Banth[1] bin Muhammad Ali, who was the commander of the Hindus, against him, and when they met, a battle took place, and Banth was slain, and his army dispersed. When this news reached Amīr Mas'ūd, he sent Tilak bin Husen, who was (another) commander of the Hindus, and he went and fought with Ahmad and defeated him, and he ordered the noses and the ears of such of Ahmad's soldiers as were captured to be cut off. Ahmad escaped to Mansurah in Sindh and attempted to cross the Indus. The river was, however, suddenly flooded, and carried him away, and he was drowned. When his corpse was afterwards thrown up on the bank, his head was cut off and brought to Tilak, who sent it to Amīr Mas'ūd.

In the year 427 A.H. the new castle was completed, and a golden throne adorned with gems was placed in it, and a golden crown also adorned with precious stones, which weighed seventy maunds, was hung over it, with chains of gold, and the Sultān held a public reception, seated on that throne, and with that suspended crown placed on his head.

The same year he sent Amīr Maudūd to Balkh, after conferring on him a standard and a kettle-drum, and he himself marched into Hindustān, and when he reached the fort of Hānsi, he took it, and found in it plunder beyond all count, and from that fort he marched with his army to the fort of Sampat, and the commandant of that fort, Danial[2] Har by name, becoming aware of his approach, fled and concealed himself in the jungles. The army of Islām having captured that fort, pulled down all the temples and obtained an enormous quantity of booty. Then when they heard where Danial Har was hid, they marched against him, and he coming to know of this fled alone, and all his troops were either slain or taken prisoner.

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[1] This name is very differently given in the lithographed edition and in the MSS. In the former it is بانتهه بن محمد علي, in MS. A it is ماهه بن محمد علي, in MS. B and C طلک بن حسن. Here again we have mention of Hindu troops but the names of the commanders are peculiar. It is difficult to say what Banth means. Tilak is distinctly Hindu, but the names of the fathers of the commanders are distinctly Muhammadan.

[2] The name in the text is as it is given in the lithographed edition. In MS. A it is Dipāl Har, in MS. B Dipāl Harmānah, and in MS. C Dipāl Haryānah.

From that place Amīr Mas'ūd advanced to the valley of Ram, and when Ram heard of this he sent much tribute, with a message that as he was old and infirm, he could not come to do homage in person. Amīr Mas'ūd accepted his excuses and withheld his hand from him. He then conferred a standard and a kettle-drum on Amīr[1] Abul Muhammad, son of Mas'ūd, and sent him to Lahore, and himself returned to Ghaznīn.

In the year 429 A.H. he went from Ghaznīn to Balkh, with the object of checking the disturbances created by the Turkmans. The latter, when they heard of this, left Balkh, and went away elsewhere. In the meantime intelligence was received that the whole of Māwar-un-nahr was in a state of turmoil on account of the aversion which the people felt for Purtikīn, who had succeeded Kadr Khān on the latter's death.

And Mas'ūd, hoping to acquire the whole country of Māwar-un-nahr, advanced into it. The people of the country, who had rebelled against their ruler, left their homes, and fled, and no one came forward to give battle. A few days after this, Khwājah bin Muhammad Abdus Samad, Mas'ūd's minister, sent him a letter, and informed him that Dāūd Turkman was, with a large force, threatening Balkh, and he had no such force, and such munitions of war, that he could hope successfully to oppose Dāūd. Amīr Mas'ūd immediately returned from Māwar-un-nahr towards Balkh. The Turkmans turned round and went to Merv. Amīr Mas'ūd arrived at Balkh, and then went to Gurgān in pursuit of Dāūd.[2] There some of the people came to him, and complained of the oppression committed by 'Ali Tandari.[3] This man was an impostor, a tyrant, who had stretched out his arm over

[1] The readings here are various. The lithographed edition has "and the Amīr ul Maumīnīn conferred, etc., on Abul Muhammad bin Mas'ūd and sent him to Lahore, etc." which is clearly incorrect. MS. A has the reading which I have adopted. MS. B reads "and conferring a kettle-drum and a standard on Aub'l Fawaris and Mas'ūd, etc.," while MS. C has "and gave a kettle-drum and a standard to Amīr Abul Ahmad bin Muhammad."

[2] According to MS. C Dāūd went to Gurgān but Mas'ud did not go there in pursuit of him.

[3] The name is so given in the lith. ed. MS. A makes it عددی in one place and يندري in another place in the same line. MS. B makes it قدري and جندي in the two places. MS. C makes it بهدری.

all that region Amīr Mas'ūd summoned him, to swear allegiance to him, but he heeded him not, but went on harassing the people He took his family and children to the fort, which was in that neighbourhood, and prepared to withstand a siege Amīr Mas'ūd sent an army against him The fort was captured, and 'Alī Tandān was brought before Amīr Mas'ūd, and the latter ordered him to be impaled

When the Turkmans heard of Amīr Mas'ūd's march towards Merv, they sent envoys, and represented that they were his slaves, obedient to his commands, that if the boundaries of their pastures were defined, their cattle and families would remain in the lands allotted to them, and they would themselves serve him Amīr Mas'ūd acceded to their prayers, and sent an envoy to Beghu, who was their leader, so that an agreement might be drawn up to the effect that from that time they would refrain from their customary misdeeds At the same time, the boundaries of their pastures were determined These terms were agreed upon, and then Amīr Mas'ūd turned his face towards Hirāt In the way, a band of Turkmans fell upon Amīr Mas'ūd's army, slew some of the men, and plundered some things Amīr Mas'ūd sent a detachment in pursuit of them who seized and slew them all, and capturing their wives and families brought them, together with the heads of the slain, to the Amīr The latter sent all those heads, laden on asses, to Beghu, with the message that this was the punishment of all those who broke their engagements Beghu made his excuses, and said that he knew nothing of these things, and that the Amīr had himself done to those people what he could have himself wished to do The Amīr then went from Hirāt to Nishāpur, and from the latter place to Tus Near the latter place a band of Turkmans met him and a battle was fought, and many of them were slain At this time intelligence was brought that the people of Bāward had delivered their fort to the Turkmans Amīr Mas'ūd attacked the fort, and having captured it, put the garrison to the sword He then returned to Nishāpur and spent the winter there

When the spring of 430 A H came, Amīr Mas'ūd again went to Bāward, with the object of attacking Tughral Turkman The latter became aware of this, and went away towards Taran Bāward Amīr Mas'ūd turned round and came towards Sarakhs by way of

Mahnah, and as the people of Mahnah did not pay their tribute, he had them seized, and ordered many of them to be slain, and the hands of others to be cut off, and also had their strongholds demolished From those parts he moved to Didankan[1] When he arrived at this place, the Turkmans came in great numbers from different directions and surrounded the army of Ghaznīn Amīr Mas'ūd arrayed his troops, and made ready for battle The Turkmans met him also arrayed for battle, and a great conflict took place In the meantime many of the commanders of the army of Ghaznīn turned round and joined the enemy, and the Amīr remained alone in the field of battle He slew some of the leaders of the Turkmans with his sword and lance and mace Those of the commanders of the army of Ghaznīn who had gone over to the enemy now turned their backs to the field of battle and fled towards Ghaznīn When there was no one near Amīr Mas'ūd he got out of the battlefield, through his own courage and prowess, and no one dared to pursue him This occurred on the 8th Ramazān in the year 431 A.H. When Amīr Mas'ūd reached Merv, some of his troops rejoined him, and he came to Ghaznīn from there, by way of Ghur

He then punished all the commanders who had turned their backs on the enemy without fighting such as Alī[2] Dāyah, the great chamberlain Sipāhi and Ekta'di chamberlain He ordered them all to be seized, mulcted, and sent to India where they were imprisoned in different forts, and they all died while under imprisonment Amīr Mas'ūd then determined to take his troops to India, where he might gain new strength and again collect a large army and then attacking the Turkmans, place their chastisement in the skirts of time He sent Amīr Maudūd as Amīr to Balkh and directed Khwājah Muhammad bin Abdus Samad the Vazīr to accompany him and appointed Artigīn[3] Hājib to be his chamberlain, and sent

[1] The name of this place is given, as in the text, in MSS A and B In MS C it is written as Yighmar and in the lith ed as Damghan According to note 3 p 74 of the Ṭab-i-Nās (trans), it appears that the name has been variously given in different works, but the correct name is Ṭālkān

[2] The lith ed and all the MSS give the names as given in the text except that in MS A we have Muka'tadi instead of Ekta'di

[3] In the lith ed Artigīn Hājib is said to have been appointed as Vazīr, the words

four[1] thousand men with him He also ordered Amīr Muhammad to proceed to Multān with two thousand men, and he directed that the Amīr of that province should go to the hilly country of Ghaznīn, so that he might watch the Afghāns of that country who were refractory and prevent them from creating disturbances He also brought all Sultān Mahmūd's treasures, which were in different forts, to Ghaznīn, and loading them on camels, started with them for India From the way he sent men who brought his brother Amīr Muhammad from the fort of Targhand [2]

When he reached Rabat[3] Bāriklah, his slaves (or guards) plundered the treasure laden on the camels At the same time Amīr Muhammad arrived there, and the slaves knowing that their transgression would not be forgiven, unless there was a new Amīr, had no alternative but to go to Amīr Muhammad and to accept him as the Bādshāh They, therefore, went in a body and attacked Amīr Mas'ūd The latter fortified himself in the Rabat (inn) The next day the whole army went in a body and brought the Amīr out of the inn and seized him and immured him in the fort of Girī[4] and he remained there till the 11th Jamādi-ul-awwal, 432 A H, when a false message purporting to come from Amīr Muhammad was sent to the Kotwal or the Commandant of the fort to have him killed, and to send his head to the Amīr According to this message his head was severed from the body and sent to Amīr Muhammad, who wept much, and severely reprimanded those who had brought this about

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متعدی از being changed to دعای از but all the MSS agree in the reading as given in the text

[1] The lith ed and MSS B and C give this number but MS A gives only one thousand

[2] So in the lith ed MS A reads درید, B درغهد C در The Ṭab-i-Nās says that Barghand was the name of the fort in which Ibrahim and Farrukhzad were kept in imprisonment Amir Muhammad might have been imprisoned in the same fort

[3] So in MS B MS A reads رباط بار کاله, MS C رباط بار کلکه and the lith ed رباط ریکه, but a few lines further on it has رباط بار بلکه According to the Ṭab-i-Nās trans p 95, the correct name of the place is Māngalah (See note 4 in the same page)

[4] So in all MSS The lith ed has Giri, see also Ṭab i-Nās trans, p 95 and note 2 in the same page

V SHIHĀB-UD-DIN[1] WA DOULAT, WA KUTB-UL-MILLAT ABUL FATEH MAUDŪD BIN MAS'ŪD

When the news of his father's murder reached Amīr Maudūd in Bahistān,[2] he wanted to start for Bārīklah to revenge him, but Abu[3] Nasr bin Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Abdus Samad kept him back from that undertaking, and took him to Ghaznīn The people of the town all went forward to meet him, joined in the mourning rites, and took his side Then with a great army, he advanced upon his uncle, Amīr Muhammad When he arrived at Dantur,[4] Amīr Muhammad hastened forward to meet him, and a battle ensued It lasted the whole day, and when night came on, each side took count of the enemy and remained in the battle-field During the night Amīr Maudūd sent a messenger to Mīr Ajall Sayyad Mansur, who was in Amīr Muhammad's army, and gained him over, so that at the time of battle, the next day, Mīr Ajall Sayyad Mansur stood on one side as a spectator, and did not help either of the contending armies After much fighting, the victory at last fell to Amīr Maudūd, and Amīr Muhammad and his son Ahmad and all the commanders of his army were taken prisoners, and after much torture were put to death Amīr Maudūd established a cārāvānsarāi and a bazar at that place, and named it Fatehābād, and ordered that the coffins of his father and brothers should be brought to Ghaznīn from Girī This victory took place in the month of Sha'ābān, 432 A H

In the year 433 A H Amīr Maudūd was displeased with Khwājah Ahmad Abdus Samad, and ordered him to be imprisoned in the

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[1] So in the lith ed MS A omits 'uddin' and adds 'bin Sultān Mahmud" at the end MSS B and C add "bin Mahmūd' at the end

[2] So in the lith ed and in MS B In MS A it is بہان and in MS C سدستان As mentioned above Amīr Maudūd had been sent to govern Balkh just before his father started for India, and according to Major Raverty, he was at Balkh, when the tidings of his father's imprisonment and murder reached him (see note 9, p 95 of the trans of the Ṭab-i-Nās)

[3] So in the lith ed and in MSS B and C In MS A there is no 'bin' before Abdus Samad

[4] The name of the place is not given in the lith ed In the MSS it is دستور دنتور and دیفور respectively According to the Ṭab-i-Nās the battle took place at Nagrahār

fort of Ghaznīn, and he died in captivity The Amīr then selected Abu Tāhir bin Muhammad Mustaufi to be his Vazīr, and the same year he sent Abu Nasr Muhammad bin Ahmad towards Hindustān, to fight against Nāmī Muhammad bin Mahmud, and Nāmī was killed in the battle

In the year 434 A H Amīr Maudūd sent Artigīn to Tajaristān,[1] and when he arrived there, he received information that the son of Dāūd Turkman had come to Arhan He marched against him, but when he arrived in his neighbourhood, the Turkman leader received warning, and leaving his army behind, he went away with a few companions Artigīn followed him and slew many of his followers He then proceeded to Balkh, and seized that town and had the Khutba (prayers) read in Amīr Maudūd's name After a short time, the Turkmans intending to attack him, approached Balkh, and as he did not have a large army, he asked Amīr Maudūd for reinforcement, but as his request was not acceded to, he returned with his army from Balkh to Ghaznīn

In the year 435 A H the Amīr was, owing to the insinuations of certain people, displeased with Abu 'Ali the Kotwal of Ghaznīn and put him in prison, but in the end, when he came to know of the Kotwal's innocence, he set him at liberty and made him the Minister of his dominions as well as Kotwal of Ghaznīn and he ordered Suri[2] bin Al'abr who had previously been his Vazīr to be imprisoned, and the man died while in prison People also created a bad impression about Artigīn in the mind of Amīr Maudūd, and he had him beheaded in his own presence

In the year 436 A H Khwājah Tāhir the Vazīr received his order (of dismissal) and Khwājah Imām Sayyad Abul Fateh Abdur Razzāk bin Ahmad bin Husen was appointed Vazīr in his place The same year Tughral Hajib was sent towards Bast, and he went as far as Sīstān, and having seized the brother of Abul Fazl Darangī Abu Mansur, brought him to Ghaznīn

In 437 A H the Turkmans advanced in force towards Ghaznīn

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[1] So in the lith ed and in MSS B and C MS A reads Tabaristān

[2] The name is given as in the text in the lith ed In MS A it is given as Suri bin Alma'shr In MS B as Suri bin Alma'br, and in MS C as Suri bin Ima'bi

As they passed through Bast, and destroyed Rabāṭ Amīr, the army of Ghaznīn met them, and there was a great battle, and many of the Turkmans were slain. After this victory Tughral went towards Garmsīr,[1] and slew the Turkmans of that country, who were called the Surkh Kulāh (the red caps), and taking a large number of them prisoners, brought them along with him

In the year 438 A H Amīr Maudūd again sent Tughral in the same direction, with a very large army When Tughral reached Baknābād,[2] he showed signs of faithlessness When news of this came to Amīr Maudūd, he sent men to Tughral, to reassure and conciliate him Tughral said in reply to them, that as the men who were in attendance on the Amīr, were hostile to him, he could not come and do homage to the latter After this, the Amīr sent 'Ali bin Rabi' with two thousand mounted troops to summon Tughral When 'Ali bin Rabi' came to the neighbourhood of the place where Tughral was, the latter fled with a few men, and 'Ali coming upon his army routed it, and seizing a certain number took them to Ghaznīn

The same year, the Amīr sent the Amīr Ḥājib Buzurg Batabkīn[3] towards Ghur, and when the latter started on the expedition he took Shīr[4] bachah with him, and when they reached the fort of Abu 'Ali they captured it and took Abu Ali prisoner This was a fort which had not been conquered by anybody during seven centuries Shīr bachah brought Abu 'Ali to Ghaznīn with a yoke on his neck

The same year Amīr Maudūd sent Amīr Ḥājib Baitigīn against Bahrām Sāl, who was the leader of the Turkmans and their armies met and fought in the neighbourhood of Bast, and the Turkmans were defeated

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[1] So in the lith ed MS A reads Garmīr, MS B Garmsu or Garmu, and MS C Garmiraft joining the first letter of the verb raft with the name of the place

[2] So in the lith ed, MS A has Iankniābād MS B has Baknābād but the preposition ba or bah which should precede it has been omitted, MS C has Lkiād Apparently Tiginabad is meant

[3] So in the lith ed, MS A has Baltigīn MS B Buzubuktīn (?) and MS C Babikīn (?)

[4] So in the lith ed and MS A MSS B and C have respectively Sarpanjah and Shir panjah

In the year 439 A H. Amīr Kazdar revolted and Amīr Maudūd sent Hājib-buzurg Baitigīn against him and Amīr Kazdar was defeated; and after a time, made his submission and agreed to pay tribute The Amīr Hājib then returned to Ghaznīn

In the year 440 A H the Amīr sent his two sons Abul Kāsim Mahmūd and Mansur, after conferring on them robes of honour, kettle-drums and standards on the same day—the former towards Lahore and the latter towards Parsur, and he sent Abu 'Ali Hasan the Kotwal of Ghaznīn to Hindustān, so that he might mete out punishment to the rebels in that country Abu 'Ali advanced to the fort of Māhitah,[1] and when Ahnin[2] the ruler of the fort received information of it, he fled alone, leaving his followers behind The Kotwal sent a messenger to Hajrāi[3] the commander of the Hindus who had done meritorious service in the time of Sulṭān Mahmūd, and had spent his life in the Sulṭān's service, but had afterwards, on account of certain matters become dissatisfied, and had fled to Hindustān, and was now among the mountains of Kashmīr. He gave him many assurances, and summoned him to his presence, and after pledging his faith to him, sent him to Ghaznīn Amīr Maudūd received him with favour and comforted him

During the time that the Kotwal Abu 'Ali was in Hindustān, his enemies, out of the malice which they bore him, represented many things about him to the Amīr in a disagreeable light, and when he came back to Ghaznīn the Amīr ordered him to be imprisoned and made him over to Mirak[4] Hasan Vakīl After a few days, while he was in prison, his enemies procured his death, and as they had done this, without the permission of Amīr Maudūd, endeavoured to conceal it from him, and tried, every day, to induce him to undertake a journey, in the hope that if the Amīr should leave Ghaznīn, this deed of theirs would remain concealed In the end the Amīr started on a journey to Kabul When he reached the fort of Syamkot,[5] he had an attack

[1] So in the lith ed, MS A reads Māhīlah, MS B Bāhabilat and MS C Mahtah

[2] So in the lith ed, MS A has Ānhā and MS B and C Āhīn

[3] So in the lith ed and in MS C MS A has Bejrāi, and MS B Sahrāi.

[4] So in lith ed, MS A has Mirak bin Husen, and MSS B and C, Mirak bin Hasan

[5] So in MS A MS B has Sialkot Ms C Samkot and the lith ed Sankot

of colic, which grew worse day by day He was therefore forced to return to Ghaznīn When he arrived there, even when he was still ill, he insisted on Mirak bringing Abu 'Ali Kotwal out of prison and producing him Mirak Vakil made various subterfuges[1] and asked for a week's time, and the week had not expired when Amīr Maudūd died on the 24th Rajab, 441 A H The period of his rule extended to nine years His son Muhammad,[2] who was three years of age, was placed on the throne through the exertions of 'Ali bin Rabi', but after five days there was a change in the views of the nobles, and 'Ali bin Mas'ūd was raised to the Sulṭānate

VI 'Ali bin Mas'ūd

When 'Ali bin Mas'ūd was raised to the throne, Abdur Razzāk bin Ahmad Maimandi, who had been nominated by Amīr Maudūd to be governor of Sīstān, reached a fort between Bast and Isfrain,[3] and found that Abdur Rashid was imprisoned in that fort by order of Amīr Maudūd He brought the latter out of the fort, and accepted him as the Bādshāh He also summoned the troops to do homage to him, and got them all to swear allegiance to him 'Ali's rule was for a period of about three months

VII. 'Abdur Rashīd bin Mas'ūd

When he was raised to the throne, he marched towards Ghaznīn with 'Abdur Razzāk and other commanders When they arrived in the neighbourhood of Ghaznīn, 'Ali bin Mas'ūd fled without giving battle and 'Abdur Rashid became the ruler of Ghaznīn He sent Tughral Hājib, who was one of the nobles of Sulṭān Mahmud, to Sīstān, and Tughral conquered that country, and acquired considerable power He then marched towards Ghaznīn with the intention

[1] The lith ed reads جهل پیش آورده , having pleaded ignorance, but all the MSS read حیل instead of جهل

[2] See Ṭab-i-Nās. trans , p 97, also note 4 in the same page.

[3] So in lith ed , MS A reads Isfrār, MS. B Isa'iār, and MS C Istkrār

of treacherously attacking Amīr 'Abdur Rashīd When he arrived in the vicinity of the capital, the Amīr became aware of his treachery, and taking his adherents with him shut himself up in the fort, and Tughral, having seized the city, ordered Amīr 'Abdur Rashīd and the other descendants of Sultan Mahmūd to be slain, except a daughter of Mas'ūd, whom he married, against her wishes One day, however, when he was seated on the throne at a public reception, a band of brave men, actuated by hatred for his evil deeds, came in and hacked him to pieces with their swords, and threw his corpse on the dust of wretchedness His[1] rule lasted for four years

VIII Farrukhzād bin Mas'ūd

When Tughral was slain, the nobles and chief men in the state released Farrukhzād who was in imprisonment[2] and seated him on the throne The Saljukians came in great force at this time to attack Ghaznīn, and tried to seize it, but Har[3] har went forward by order of Farrukhzād to meet them, and many of them were slain, and some of the chiefs were seized and brought before the Amīr who ordered them to be imprisoned A second time Alb Arslān collected a large army and fought with the army of Ghaznīn, and after inflicting a defeat seized many of the nobles of Ghaznīn and took them away to Khurāsān At last a treaty was arranged and the prisoners of both sides were released When Farrukhzād's rule had extended over a period of six[4] years, he departed from this perishable world and his brother Ibrāhīm bin Mas'ūd ruled in his stead

IX Ibrāhīm bin Mas'ūd bin Sultān Mahmūd

He was a just and pious king, who was celebrated for his ability and wisdom He wrote a beautiful hand, and each year he made a

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[1] This apparently refers to 'Abdur Rashīd According to the Ṭab-i-Nās the reign of 'Abdur Rashīd extended to a period of two years and a half (p 99 of the translation) and that of Tughral to forty days

[2] In the fortress of Barghand, see p 101, Ṭab-i-Nās trans

[3] So in the lith ed , and in MS B MSS A and C read Khar Khar

[4] The Ṭab-i-Nās says his rule lasted for seven years, but other historians say he ruled for six years see Ṭab-i-Nās trans , p 102, also note He is also said to have died of colic like Maudūd

transcript of the Kurān, and sent it with much treasure to Mecca In short, when he had arranged a peace with the Saljukians, and his mind was relieved of all anxiety in that quarter, he turned his face towards Hindustān and conquered many towns and fortresses there Among these, there was a very populous town The residents were descendants of the Khurāsānians, whom Afrāsiyāb had driven out of Khurāsān In that town there was a reservoir the diameter of which was half a farsang (league) Although men and cattle drank the water, no diminution ever took place in it, and owing to the dense jungle round the fort no entrance to or exit from it could be discovered. Farrukhzād conquered such a strong fortress by his strength and vigour, and seized a hundred thousand men, and brought them to Ghaznīn An estimate of the quantity of the plunder carried away may be made from this He died in the year 491 A H [1] and his rule extended over a period of thirty years, and according to the author of the Banākati to forty-two years

X Mas'ūd bin Ibrāhīm

After his father, he sat in his father's place and was invested with the title of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn [2] Nothing more about his reign has come before my eyes His reign extended over sixteen years

XI Arslān Shāh bin Mas'ūd bin Ibrāhīm

After his father, he ascended the throne, and in order to give stability to his rule, he seized and imprisoned all his brothers, except Bahrām Shāh, who fled to Sultān Sanjar in Khurāsān, and although Sulṭān Sanjar wrote letters about him, and strongly urged his case, Arslān Shāh did not accede to his request At last Sulṭān Sanjar marched against him with a great force, and when he arrived within

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[1] According to the Ṭab-i-Nās (trans, p 105) he died in the year 492 A H

[2] The Ṭab-i-Nās gives him the title of 'Alāuddīn, but according to a note of the translator his proper title was Alauddowlah He appears to have been a just and beneficent ruler He obtained the title of Karīm, or beneficent, and had a quiet and peaceful reign At the same time, during his reign the Hajib Tugha-tigīn is said to have crossed the Ganges to carry on a holy war in Hindustān, and to have penetrated to places which no one, except Sulṭān Mahmūd, had previously reached with an army

a league of G͟haznīn, Arslān Shāh marched out with thirty thousand troops, and a great battle took place Arslān Shāh was defeated and retreated to Hindustān Sulṭān Sanjar went into G͟haznīn and remained there for forty days, and after conferring the country on Bahrām Shāh, went back to his own country When Arslān Shāh heard of the departure of Sulṭān Sanjar he went back to G͟haznīn from Hindustān with a large army Bahrām Shāh was unable to meet him in battle, and leaving G͟haznīn went to the fort of Bamiān, and, then, after receiving help and reinforcements from Sulṭān Sanjar, again marched against G͟haznīn Arslān Shāh, afraid of Sulṭān Sanjar's army, evacuated the city and retired to a place of obscurity The Saljuk army pursued and seized him, and took him to his brother Bahrām Shāh, and he met with death[1] from his brother's hand His reign lasted for three years

XII Bahrām Shāh bin Mas'ūd bin Ibrāhīm

He was a king who reigned with much pomp and state and used to associate with the learned and wise Sheikh Sanātī wrote verses in his honour, and many books were written during his reign The "Kalelah, wa damnah" was compiled in his honour, and on the day on which he ascended the throne, Syyad Hasan G͟haznawi recited an ode of which the following are the opening lines

A shout from the same seven heavens did come,
"Great Bahrām Shāh of the world is King !"

He marched into Hindustān with his army and conquered regions which his ancestors had never succeeded in acquiring. He left one of his nobles to govern his Indian dominions, and returned to G͟haznīn After a long time, that man showed his ingratitude, and took the path of rebellion Bahrām Shāh hearing of this, turned his face towards Hindustān, in order to destroy the insurgent. When he came to the vicinity of Multān the two armies engaged in a dreadful conflict The rebel got his deserts, and was seized and slain. The kingdom of Hindustān came for a second time into the possession of Bahrām

[1] The Ṭab-i-Nās gives a different account of his death, see p 109 of the trans

Shāh He left the world in the year 547 A H [1] His reign extended over a period of thirty-five years

XIII KHUSRO SHĀH BIN BAHRĀM SHĀH BIN MAS'ŪD BIN IBRĀHĪM

He became Sulṭān after his father As 'Alāuddīn Husen Ghūri turned his attention towards Ghaznīn, Khusro Shāh fled to Hindustān and established his rule in Lahore When 'Alāuddīn Husen went back, Khusro Shāh returned to Ghaznīn, but as the Ghaz marched to Ghaznīn after seizing Sulṭān Sanjar, Khusro Shāh being unable to meet them in the field, again retired to Lahore, and there he died in the year 555 A H His[2] reign extended over a period of eight years

XIV KHUSRO MALIK BIN KHUSRO SHĀH

After the death of his father, he ascended the throne at Lahore He possessed modesty and patience, but as he was much addicted to pleasure and dissipation, great confusion found its way into the kingdom

When the king does not his subjects guard
As the shepherd guards his sheep,
Confusion, dire and miseries great
Into the kingdom creep

When Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām made Ghaznīn his capital, and advanced with his army into India and reached the neighbourhood of Lahore, with an irresistible power, Khusro Malik begged for protection, and in the year 583 A H surrendered himself into his hands The Sultān sent him to Ghaznīn, where he was made to drink the sharbat of death The period of his rule was twenty-eight years, and with him the power of the Ghaznawīs came to an end, and dominion passed away from this dynasty

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[1] There is a very great discrepancy as to the year of Bahrām Shāh's death See note 5, p 112 of Raverty's translation of the Ṭab-i-Nās , in which the dates given in the different histories have been mentioned and discussed

[2] The account given above agrees generally with the history of the reign of Khusro Shāh, given in the Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, as quoted by Raverty, in note 3, p 112 of his translation of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsiri

SECTION I—THE SULṬĀNS OF DEHLI

SULTĀN MU'IZZUDDĪN MUHAMMAD SĀM GHŪRI

He has become celebrated as Shihabuddīn[1] He had a brother named Shamsuddīn, elder than him, who, after he became Sulṭān, was called Ghiāsuddīn After Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn had become Sulṭān of Ghur, and had conquered various countries, he left his younger brother Mu'izzuddīn at Tīgīnābād, which is in the Garmsīr country, and when Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn became ruler of Tīgīnābād, he repeatedly sent his troops against Ghaznīn[2] and raided and devastated the country till the year 569 A H, when Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn conquered it, and left his younger brother Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad there

In the year 570 A H Mu'izzuddīn arrived in Ghaznīn as his brother's deputy, and after a year, he marched his troops towards Uchch and conquered Multān from the Schismatics known as the Karāmita, and took possession of it The rulers of the Bhāti[3] tribe shut themselves up in the fortress of Uchch, but after a few days' fighting, it was taken, and it and Multān were placed in the charge of 'Ali Karmākh and Mu'izzuddīn returned to Ghaznīn

In the year 574 A H he again came to Uchch and Multān, and thence marched towards Gujrat through the desert Rāi Bhīm Deo, who was the ruler of the country, gave him battle, and after a severe struggle, the Sulṭān was defeated, and after much trouble, he returned to Ghaznīn, and rested there for a short time

Then in the year 575 A H[4] he advanced with his troops towards

[1] He was known as Shihābuddīn before his brother succeeded to the sovereignty of Ghur, after which his title was changed to Mu'izzuddīn The former title does not occur at all in the Tāj-ul-Maasir or in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsiri (see note 4, p 446, and note 3, p 448 of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans)

[2] Ghaznīn was at this time in the hands of the tribe known as the Ghaz as it had already been for about twelve years, and it was them that Ghiāsuddīn defeated (see Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 377, also note 4)

[3] This tribe, the name of which has been variously spelt, had previously been possessed of a great part of Sind (see last para of note 2, p 449 of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans)

[4] There is much discrepancy as regards this date Three authors make it 575 A H, two 576 A H, but the majority of historians 577 A H, while Badāuni makes it 580 A H see note 1, p 452 of the translation of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsiri

Peshāwar, which is celebrated in the old books as Bikrām or Bagrām, or Parsur or Furshur, and conquered the country around The next year he went to Lahore, and Sulṭān Khusro Malik, who was a descendant of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, and at this time ruled in Lahore, shut himself up in the fort After some negotiations, Khusro Malik sent his son with an elephant[1] as tribute, and Sultān Mu'izzuddīn made peace with him and returned

The next year he advanced to Diwāl, which is another name for Thaṭhah,[2] with his army, and having brought the whole of the country along the coast under his sway, and taking away much booty, returned

In the year 580 A H he again invaded the country of Lahore, and Khusro Malik again shut himself up Sultān Mu'izzuddīn plundered the country round Lahore, and laid the foundation of the fort of Sialkot,[3] between the rivers Ravi and Chenab, and after appointing Husen Kharmil to be the warden of the fort, returned After this Khusro Malik with the help of the Khokhars[4] and other tribes besieged the fort for a long time, but was unable to take it, and had to retire

In the year 582 A H Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn again invaded Lahore. Khusro Malik again shut himself up in the fort, and attempted to defend himself for some days Then at last, becoming convinced of his weakness, he hastened to meet the Sultān, who took him with

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[1] This elephant has been described by some historians as a renowned one and the finest that Khusro Malik possessed

[2] In the lith ed Diwāl is called the bandar or port of Ṭhaṭhah In MSS A and C Diwāl is described as another name for Ṭhaṭhah, while MS B does not mention Ṭhaṭhah at all in connection with Diwāl According to Major Raverty it is not the same place as Ṭhaṭhah, but is in the Ṭhaṭhah province between *Ṭhaṭhah and Karachi* (see note 5, p 295, and note 2, p 452 of his trans, of the Ṭab-i-Nās)

[3] According to the Ṭabakāt-i-Nāsiri Mu'izzuddīn did not lay the foundation of the fort of Sialkot, he only restored it It was a very ancient fort founded by one of the ancient Hindu rulers, but had become dilapidated and Mu'izzuddīn had it restored (Ṭab-i-Nās trans , p 453, also note 4, in the same page)

[4] The Khokhar must not be confounded with the Gakhars or Khakhars who are a totally distinct race (see last para, note 4, p 453 of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans).

himself to Ghaznīn and then sent him to his brother Ghiasuddīn at Firozkoh The latter imprisoned him in one of the forts of Gharjistan, and he died there, while still under imprisonment [1] Sulṭān Muʿizzuddīn placed Lahore under the charge of ʿAli Karmākh who had previously been appointed to be the governor of Multān, and went back to his capital

In the year 587 A H he again invaded Hindustān Leaving Ghaznīn he came to the fort of Sarhind,[2] which was at that time the capital of very powerful Rājāhs, and conquered it, and having made it over to Ziāuddīn[3] Tukali (or according to others Tulaki), and supplying him with a band of twelve hundred specially selected troopers, and the necessary munitions of war, to guard it, was preparing to depart, when he received information of the approach of Pithora (Prithvi Raj), the Rāi of Ajmīr, and went forward to meet him Then at a place called Tarāin[4] on the bank of the Sarsuti, which is at seven karohs from Thaneswar and is now known as Tarāwari,[5] and is situated

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[1] This account agrees mainly with that given in the Ṭab-i-Nās (see p 115 of the translation), but it is said there that Khusro Malik was induced to come out of the fort under the faith of a treaty The fort in Gharjistan, in which he was kept imprisoned, is there called Balarwān This account however differs considerably from that given by our author himself, in his account of the rule of Khusro Malik

[2] The lith ed and all three MSS read Sarhind, but according to Major Raverty all the copies of the Ṭabakat-i-Nāsiri which he collated and all the older historians read Tabarhindah or Tabarhindh (see Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 457 and also note 3 in the same page)

[3] The lith ed reads Ziāuddīn Tukal but the MSS read Ziāuddīn Tukal (or according to others Tulaki) His correct name according to the Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 458, appears to have been Malik Ziyā(or Ziā)uddīn the Kazi Muhammad-i-Abdus Sallam Nisāwi Tulaki Major Raverty has explained in note 4 in the same page that he or his family came originally from Nisā and he was Kazi of Tulak

[4] The name of the place is clearly written Tarāin in MS A In MS C it may be Tarāin or Narāin, but in the lith ed and in MS B it is clearly Narāin The correct name is Tarāin The mistake has originated, according to Major Raverty, with the translators of Ferishta (see note, p 459 of the trans of the Ṭab-i-Nās)

[5] This name appears as Tarāwari in the lith ed, and in all the three MSS Major Raverty has identified it with Talawari, which he found mentioned in the account of a personal survey made by one Mirza Moghal Beg of these parts, about 80 years

at a distance of forty karohs from Dehli, there was a great battle, and the army of Islām was vanquished The Sulṭān showed great bravery in the battle, and wounded with his lance, in the mouth, Khāndi[1] Rāi, the brother of Pithora, who was the ruler of Dehli, and who mounted on an elephant was leading his troops, and he, in return, struck the Sulṭān on the arm with his lance and wounded him The Sulṭān was about to fall down from his horse, when a young Khalj foot-soldier, seeing his condition, mounted behind him on his horse, and supporting him in his arms, brought him out of the battlefield, and the tumult which had commenced among the soldiers owing to the disappearance of the Sultān subsided Then, when the Sultān retired to Ghaznīn, Rāi Pithora marched to the fort of Sarhind (Tabarhinda) which was held by Ziāuddīn Tukali, and besieged it for a year and a month, and at last took it after negotiations In the year 588 A H Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn again returned to India, and in the very same place of Tarāin, where a battle had formerly taken place, he again met Pithora, and there was another great battle The Sultān divided his army into four sections, and making a series of attacks, at last vanquished the foe Pithora was taken prisoner and was slain, and Khandi Rāi (Gobind Rāi) was killed in the battle The Sulṭān then conquered the forts of Sarsuti[2] and Hānsi, and plundered and ravaged Ajmir, which was the capital of Pithora, and leaving Malik Kutbuddīn Aibak, who was a favourite slave of his, in the town of Kuhrām, which was seventy karohs from Dehli, and after plundering and devastating the country near the Sivalik hills, which are in the Northern side of India, returned to Ghaznīn

The same year Malik Kutbuddin Aibak conquered the forts of

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before the time (1881) when he wrote his translation Tarāwari can be easily changed to Talāwari (see note 7, p 459 of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans)

[1] The name is so given in the lith ed In the three MSS it is Khāndah Rāi, Khanda Rāi and Khand Rāi The oldest copies of the Ṭab-i-Nās call him Gobind or Gobindah More modern copies and later historians Khanda or Khandi The Hindu bard, Chand, calls him Rāi Gobind, which appears to have been the correct name (see note 9, p 459 of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans)

[2] This was a city on the bank of the ancient Saraswati Ibn Batuta calls Sarsuti a great city. In Akbar's time Sarsuti was one of the mahāls of Sarkar Sambhal

Dehli and Mirāt and took them from the kinsmen of Pithora and Khāndi Rāi In the year 589 A H he seized the fort of Kol and made Dehli his capital, and took up his residence there He then completely subjugated the country round about Dehli From this date Dehli became the capital of the Sulṭāns The same year Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn again left Ghaznīn for the invasion of India, and advanced towards Kannouj, and Rāi Jai Chand, the ruler of that city, who had more than three hundred elephants, advanced against him and gave him battle in the neighbourhood of Chandwār[1] and Itāwah, but was defeated and his elephants and troops fell into the Sultān's hand The Sulṭān then went back crowned with triumph and victory to Ghaznīn and carried away much booty, leaving Malik Kutbuddīn in Dehli The latter took the forts of Thankir,[2] Gwālior and Badāūn, and advancing with his army to Nahiwalah in Gujrāt, inflicted a defeat on Rāi Bhīm Deo, the ruler of that country, in revenge of the defeat he had inflicted on the Sultān, and obtained much plunder Sultān Mu'izzuddīn was on the frontier of Tūs[3] and Sarakhs when he received intelligence of the death of his elder brother Ghiāsuddīn, who bore the title of Bādshāh (King), and he came to Badgheis, and after the mourning rites, divided his brother's dominions among the descendants of Sām, in this way, that he conferred the throne of Firozkoh and Ghur on Malik Ziāuddīn, the son of his uncle, who was also the son-in-law of Sulṭān Ghiās-uddīn, and Bast, and Farah and Isfarain on Sultān Mahmūd, the son of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn, and confirmed the possession and rule of Hirāt and its dependencies with Nāsiruddīn Ghāzi who was the nephew (sister's son) of Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn He then came to Ghaznīn from Bādgheis

Then with a great army he advanced into Khwārizm for the conquest of that country and the King of Khwārizm fell back

[1] This place has not been identified Major Raverty says that the only place having a similar name is Chandpur or Chandanpur, in the district of Farrukhābād, on the route from Bareili to Fatehgarh, lat 27° 27′, long 79° 42′

[2] There is considerable discrepancy among historians as to the date of the taking of Thankir (the Modern Biānah), and as to who took it See note 3, p 470 of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans

[3] He went there to relieve Hirāt which had been besieged by the army of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh of Khwārizm

discomfited When the Sulṭān reached Khwārizm, and fighting went on for some days, the troops of Khwārizm fought on the bank of the aqueduct which had been dug from the Jeihūn to the east of Khwārizm, and some of the nobles of Ghur fell in the fight As the Sulṭān was unable to conquer Khwārizm he began to retire towards Balkh using the Jeihūn, and the armies of Khitā and the Turkmān Maliks, who had come to the aid of Sulṭān Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh, came to the bank of the Jeihūn and obstructed the passage of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn When the latter reached Andkhud, there was a very severe fight, and the Sulṭān fought with great prowess and courage, with the hundred mounted men he had with him, and made great exertions but as he had no power left to withstand the enemy, he shut himself up in the fort of Andkhud, and then after negotiations, he evacuated it, and obtaining a safe conduct returned to Ghaznīn

At this time, a band of Khokhars had revolted in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and the Sultān marched against them, and Kutbuddīn Aibak also marched from Dehli to attend on him After chastising the Khokhars he returned towards Ghaznīn; and when he was returning, in a place called Damyak, which is one of the dependencies of Ghaznīn, he became a martyr at the hand of certain Khokhar Fidā'is [1] This quatrain has been written to commemorate the date of the occurrence —

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[1] According to the Ṭab-i-Nās the Sulṭān was killed by a disciple of the Mulahidah sect, and as he had undertaken an expedition against them only two or three years before, it is by no means unlikely that they were the assassins The Jami-ut-tawarikh like the Ṭab-i-Akb says that the assassins were Khokhars, but almost immediately afterwards contradicts the statement The Hindus give a different account, which has been reproduced by Abul Fazl and by a certain history of Jamun or Jammu, referred to by Major Raverty According to their account, the Sulṭān was killed by an arrow which was shot by Rāi Pithora who was still a prisoner Chandā or Chāndā, the court poet and eulogist of Pithora induced the Sulṭān, after exciting his curiosity about Pithora's skill in archery, to order that the latter should be brought out of prison to show his skill Instead of aiming at the mark, he transfixed the Sulṭān who died on the spot, and Rāi Pithora and Chandā were cut down there and then by the Sulṭān's attendants According to the history of Jammu, Rāi Pithora had been previously blinded, but in spite of this he was guided by the sound of the Sulṭān's voice, and the indications of Chandā, and succeeded in transfixing the Sulṭān See Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 485, note 3

[1]The Martyrdom of the sovereign of sea and land, Mu'izzuddīn,
From the beginning of the world, the like of whom no monarch arose,
On the third of the month of Shah'bān in the year six hundred and two,
Happened on the road to G͟haznīn, at the halting place of Damyak

The period of his reign from the beginning of his rule in G͟haznīn to the end of his life was thirty-two years and a few months He left no heir behind him except one daughter They say that he left much treasure in the shape of gold and silver and gems, including five hundred maunds of diamonds of the most precious kind, and the quantity of other treasures and valuables may be estimated from this He invaded India nine times, was defeated twice, and was victorious on the other occasions He was a wise, God-fearing King, who was merciful to the people He held learned and pious men in honour and rendered services to them

Sultān Kutbuddīn Aibak

He was a slave of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn In the beginning when he was brought from Turkistān, Kazi Fakhruddīn 'Abdul 'Aziz Kufi who was a descendant of Imām Abu Hanifa Kufi bought him, and he read the Kurān with the Kazi's sons and acquired the polite arts After that a merchant purchased him at a high price, and took him to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn at G͟haznīn as a specially choice article The Sultān bought him from that merchant for a large price As his little finger was broken, he was called Aibak He rendered service to the Sulṭān with discretion and loyalty, so that in a short time he received great distinction It has been related that one night the Sultān held a great assembly to which he invited those who were nearly and intimately connected with him In that assembly he gave large rewards to all his adherents and companions He specially

[1] The translation of the quatrain is Major Raverty's Some historians make the 1st Sha'bān the date of the assassination The situation of Damyak is variously given Some say it was a little west of the Jhilam, some on the Nīlāb, and others that it was a village beyond the Indus on the route to G͟haznīn See note 5, p 486, Ṭab-i-Nās trans

distinguished Malik Ḳutbuddīn with liberal rewards and largesses. When the assembly broke up Malik Kutbuddīn bestowed all that he had received, in the shape of rewards to those who spread the carpets and arranged the furniture, and to other menials The next morning when the Sulṭān heard this, he was greatly pleased and rewarded Ḳutbuddīn, and raised him to the rank of an Amīr, and honoured him by assigning to him the duties of personally attending before the throne, and his affairs continually became more and more flourishing

At the time when the Sulṭāns of Ghur and Ghaznīn and Bāmiān advanced with their armies towards Khurāsan in order to conquer Sulṭān Shāh of Khwarizm[1] they took Malik Kutbuddin Aibak with them and he met the troops of Sulṭān Shāh near Merv, i e near the Murghab river, and although he fought with great bravery and prowess, he was, owing to the paucity of his followers, defeated and taken prisoner, and was taken before Sultān Shāh who ordered him to be imprisoned When afterwards a battle took place between the armies of Ghur and Khwārizm, and the latter was routed, the servants of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn placed Kutbuddīn, bound as he was to a board with iron chains, on a camel and took him to the Sulṭān The latter showed him great courtesy, and conferred robes of honour and other rewards on him

Afterwards when the Sulṭān returned from India to Ghaznīn, he left him at Kuhrām, as his Deputy, and the feats which he performed during the Sultān's lifetime have already been described After the martyrdom of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn Mahmūd, son of Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad, sent for Malik Kutbuddīn, a canopy and the insignia of royalty from Firozkoh, and cenferred on him the title of Sulṭān The new Sultān came to Lahore from Dehli in the year 602 A H, and on Tuesday, the 18th of Zika da of the same year he sat on the throne, and unlocking the doors of generosity and benevolence conferred great gifts and largesses, so that he made gifts of

[1] The meaning of the passage is not clear The lithographed edition has Malik Kutbuddīn Aibak Turk burdah MS A has Malik Kutbuddīn ra burdah budand, where the nominative would be Sulṭāns, i e the three Sulṭāns of Ghur, Ghaznīn and Bāmian MS B has Malik Kutbuddīn ra maidān Yezk burdah budand, where Yezk appears to be a mistake for Turk, MS C has ملک, قطب الدین ایبک ىرگ دودہ دود which though legible cannot be made sense of

lakhs, and bestowed on deserving persons more than they could ever conceive, and on this subject Bahāuddīn Ushi, who was one of the learned men of the age, wrote the following couplet —

[1]Truly the bestowal of lacs, thou in the world didst bring,
Thy hand brought the mine's affairs to a desperate state
The blood filled mine's heart, through envy of thy hand,
Therefore produced the ruby as a pretext (within it)

People called him Kutbuddīn lak-bakhsh (the giver of lakhs), and up to this day the people of Hindustān, when they praise anybody for his liberality and benevolence, call him Kutbuddīn Kal or the Kutbuddīn of the age (Kal[2] with the Arabic kāf maftuh and lam maksur meaning time)

After[3] a time (hostilities arose) between Kutbuddīn and Tāj-Uddīn Yelduz, who was also one of the Mu'izzī slaves, and who (after the death of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn) had become the ruler of Ghaznīn and had assumed the title of *bādshāh,* and the latter marched against Lahore with a hostile intent, and he and Kutbuddīn attempted to destroy one another, and the fire of warfare was kindled After much fighting and bloodshed Tājuddīn was routed and went away to Karmān, and Sulṭān Kutbuddīn proceeded to Ghaznīn and remained there for

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[1] The translation is Major Raverty's, see p 572, Ṭab-ī-Nās trans The mine of ruby is likened to the hearts of other sovereigns which are filled with blood (i e bleed) owing to their jealousy of Kutbuddīn's liberality, which they could never emulate

[2] It is needless almost to say, that Kāl and not Kal means time The lām Maksur would make the word *Kali*, which would not mean time

[3] This sentence is evidently somewhat mutilated Neither in the lithographed edition nor in the MSS are there any words corresponding with "hostilities arose " Then the latter part of the sentence, as given in the lithographed edition, is meaningless MSS A and B read bar Sar-i-Lahor mukhasimat raft, while MS C reads bar Sar-i-Lahor ba Mukhasimat raft This last is the most correct version It may be explained that Tājuddin had found it necessary to retire to the Panjab, which he chose to consider was a portion of his dominions, on Sulṭān Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh having taken possession of Ghaznīn He reached Lahore, defeated Nāsiruddīn Kabājah, and took possession of the Punjab Kutbuddīn then marched into the Punjab and defeated Yelduz, who retired to Karmān Kutbuddīn then marched to Ghaznīn and drove out the governor appointed by Jalaluddin, the son of Sulṭān Muhammad of Khwārizm

forty days, spending[1] the time in amusements and dissipation As he was constantly taken up with debauchery and drunkenness and totally neglected all affairs of state, the people of Ghaznīn sent an emissary in secret to Sulṭān Tājuddīn and summoned him, and as the latter arrived suddenly, Sulṭān Kutbuddīn was taken utterly by surprise and could not encounter him He had therefore to leave Ghaznīn, and retire by the route of Sang Surākh to Lahore Couplet —

When the Sultān loses his head with wine
His crown falls off unheeded from his head

In the year 607 A H he fell with his horse while playing Chougān, and the front part of his saddle struck him on the chest and he died The period of his rule from the date of the conquest of Dehli to the end of his life was twenty years, out of which he ruled independently for four years

As seven of the slaves and noblemen of Sultān Shihābuddīn (Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad) Sām reached the dignity of independent rule, it appears proper that an account of them should be given here

SULTĀN TĀJUDDĪN YELDUZ

He was a great and benevolent king and possessed laudable qualities and a handsome appearance He was bought in his youth by Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn, who distinguished him by assigning to him duties near his own person, and raised him to high rank He showed him special kindness and favour among all his slaves When he was made an Amīr, Karmān[2] and Shankuran were conferred on him as fiefs

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[1] The above is a more truthful record of Kutbuddīn's (proceedings during his forty days' rule in Ghaznīn than what is given in the Ṭabākat-i-Nāsiri, according to which he bestowed upon God's people abundant benefactions and innumerable favours, and returned again to Hindustān (see Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 527)

[2] For a complete description of the tract see note 7, p 498, of Raverty's translation of the Ṭab-i-Nās It appears that it consisted of several darahs or long valleys with hills on both sides and rivers running along the bottoms The valleys are the Kurma or Kurram Darah which forms the upper portion of this tract, with smaller Darahs on either side, running in nearly transverse directions, the principal of these being the Sankuran now called the Shaluzān, Karmān, Zerān, Iriab (vulg Harriāb) and the Pāiwar The lower portion of the tract comprises Banu and Marwar This tract

Whenever the Sulṭān in the course of his expeditions into India passed through Karmān, Malik Tājuddīn feasted all the nobles, and made presents to them of one thousand robes and one thousand caps, and he conferred gifts on every individual of the Sulṭān's retinue in accordance with his condition He had two daughters, and under the orders of the Sulṭān, one of these was married to Sultān Kutbuddīn Aibak, and the other to Malik Nāsiruddīn Kabājah. Malik Tājuddīn had two sons He made one of them over to a tutor The latter, in order to chastise the boy, took up an earthen water flask and struck him on the head with it As the boy was predestined to die then, he died of the effect of that blow When Malik Tājuddīn heard of this, he gave the tutor some money to pay his expenses of travel and sent him away, telling him that he should quickly get out of the way, and undertake a journey to some distant place before the mother of the boy came to know of the mishap This anecdote furnishes clear evidence of his good nature.

When in the latter part of his reign, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn came to Karmān, he distinguished Malik Tājuddīn Yelduz with a special dress of honour and conferred on him a black banner, and it was in his mind that after his death, Tājuddīn Yelduz should succeed to the throne of Ghaznīn When the Sultān died, the Turkish Amīrs and Maliks wanted to summon Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Mahmūd bin Muhammad Sām from the Garmsīr country, and place him on the throne of his uncle This they embodied in a memorial, which they sent to Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn Mahmūd The latter wrote in reply that he preferred the throne of his father, i e the kingdom of Firozkoh and the Ghur country, and he sent a robe of honour to Sulṭān Tājuddīn, and a letter of manumission, and made the throne of Ghaznīn over to him

In compliance with this mandate, Malik Tājuddīn came to Ghaznīn, and sat on the throne, and brought the territories appertaining to it into his possession, and once afterwards he was driven out of Ghaznīn, but he re-established himself there He also fought with Sulṭān Kutbuddīn Aibak in the Punjab and was defeated by him,

must in ancient times have been exceedingly populous and flourishing, to judge from the remains of several cities still to be seen in it, and is still very fruitful

and Ghaznīn came into the possession of Sulṭān Ḳutbuddīn; but he again recovered possession of it as has been already mentioned Then on one occasion he sent troops to Hirāt to aid Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn (Mahmūd) and defeated the Malik[1] of Hirāt, Izzuddīn Hussen Khaimīl On another occasion, he marched with his army towards Sīstān[2] and besieged that city, and returned after concluding a treaty with Malik Taj Harab At the time of his return he engaged in hostilities with Malik Nāsiruddin Husen[3] the chief huntsman (of the late Sulṭān), and was defeated in the battle which took place between them Then[4] after some time he advanced with his troops into Hindustān, and after a battle with Sultān Shamsuddīn in the neighbourhood of Tarāin was taken prisoner He ruled for a period of nine years

SULTĀN NĀSIRUDDĪN ḲABĀJAH

He was one of the slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn and became a ruler of consummate intelligence, discretion and penetration He had served the Sulṭān in all ranks, and had acquired a perfect knowledge, both in military and political affairs In the war between Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn and the army of Khita, Malik Nāsiruddīn Aitmar, who was the feudatory of Uchch was martyred, and Malik Nāsiruddīn

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[1] 'Izzuddīn Husen had conspired with Sulṭān Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh and had gone over to him When the combined forces of Ghur and Ghaznīn came he fled

[2] This matter is mentioned thus in the Ṭab-i-Nās "on another occasion Sulṭān Tājuddīn Yelduz led an army towards Sijistān and remained absent on that expedition for a considerable time, and advanced as far as the gates of the city of Sīstān At length peace was concluded between him and Malik Tājuddīn-i-Harab, who was the King of Sijistān " Major Raverty says in a note that no historian mentions any reason for Yelduz's marching against Sīstān, and gives any details respecting this affair Then he hazards a surmise that it might have been caused by the ruler of Sijistān proposing to acknowledge the Suzerainty of Sulṭān Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh

[3] According to the Ṭabakat-i-Nāsirī Malik Nāsiruddīn Husen, the Amīr-i-Shikār, showed disaffection towards Tājuddīn Yelduz, and engagements took place between them Malik Nāsiruddīn was overthrown and retired towards Khwārizm

[4] It appears from the Ṭabakāt-i-Nāsirī that he was sent as a prisoner to Badāūn, and there he was slain and there his mausoleum is situated and has become a place of pilgrimage and is visited by suppliants

Kabājah was stationed at Uchch in his place He was the son-in-law of Sulṭān Kutbuddin, having married two of his daughters. After the death of Sultān Kutbuddīn, he brought Uchch and Multān, and all the cities and fortresses and country of Sind and Tabarhindah and Kuhrām, as far as the Sarsuti, into his possession; and he obtained possession of Lahore several times Once he fought a battle with Sulṭān Tājuddīn Yelduz who came from Ghaznīn, and once he was defeated in a battle with Khwājah Mu'idul Mulk Sanjari who was the Vazir of the Kingdom of Ghaznīn When he finally became the ruler of Sind, many of the great men of Khurāsan and Ghur and Ghaznīn, after being overthrown by Chengiz Khān, entered his service, and he conferred favours and gifts on every one of them

In the year 621 A H the Mughals came and besieged the city of Multān for forty days Sultān Nāsiruddīn opened the doors of his treasury at this time and fostered and cherished the people with rewards and favours, and displayed great prowess and bravery A year and six months after this, the Khalj[1] and the Khwārizm armies conquered Siwistān, which is also known as Shahsawan Malik Nāsiruddīn advanced to drive them out and there was a great battle, and in the end the forces of his enemies were routed, and the Khan of the Khalj was slain Sultān Nāsiruddīn then returned to Uchch and Multān The remainder of his history has been given in the history of Sultān Shamsuddīn The period of his rule was twenty-two years

SULTĀN BAHĀUDDĪN TUGHRAL

He was one of the bondsmen and afterwards one of the renowned nobles of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām He had many praiseworthy qualities and charming moral attributes When Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām conquered the fort of Thankir[2], and placed it in charge of Malik Bahāuddīn Tughral, the latter

[1] See Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 539, where it is said that it was a body of this tribe of Khalj and a portion of the army of Khwārizm that overran the district of Mansurah in Siwistan

[2] The lithographed edition and MSS A and B read Bhakar but from the context this cannot be correct MS C is correct and reads Thankir There is a great deal of confusion about the date and the circumstances connected with the conquest of this fort See Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 545, and note 5

built a fort[1] in the country of Biānah and took up his residence there, and he constantly rode towards Gwālior and raided the neighbourhood of that place Sulṭān Mu'izzudīn Muhammad Sām at the time when he was returning from Gwālior told Tughral, that if the fort should be conquered, it would be conferred on him So the latter built a strong fort within two leagues of Gwālior and taking up his residence in it with his troops, he constantly ravaged the surrounding country When a year passed in this way, and the garrison of Gwālior was reduced to great distress, they sent envoys to Sulṭān Kuṭbuddīn Aibak with presents and offerings, and surrendered the fort to him This became a cause of hostility between Sultān Kutbuddīn Aibak and Malik Bahāuddīn Tughral In a short time (after this, the latter) died

Description of the Rule of Ikhtiyaruddīn Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khiljī

He was one of the great men of the country of Ghur and Garmsīr He was largely endowed with liberality and bravery and wisdom In the time of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām, he came to Ghaznīn Thence he came to India and joined the service of Malik Mu'azzam Husamuddīn Aghulbak who held in fief some parganas in the Doāb and beyond the Ganges After he had repeatedly shown signs of courage and prowess the fiefs of Kampilah[2] and Patiali were

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[1] Which he named Sulṭān kot Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 545

[2] These names are given as in the text, or slightly differently in the lithographed edition as well as in the three MSS Major Raverty has however found that they were written as Bhagwat or Bhāgwat and Bhioli or Bhiwali in the oldest copies of the Ṭab-i-Nās, and he has also found that two parganas still bear these names between the Ganges and the Karmanasa, to the east-ward of and adjoining Chunargarh, and he is therefore of opinion that these were their correct names He finds a corroboration of the idea that the fiefs were situated in that part of India from the fact that places bearing the names given by others to the fiefs, which in their modern anglicized form are Pateetah and Kuntil (or Kuntila), are situated not far from Perganas Bhagwat and Bhioli Some later writers (the author of the Ṭab-i-Akb among them) have given the fiefs the name of Patiali and Kampila, but these places are more than three degrees west and the same distance north of the places mentioned in the oldest copies of the Ṭab-i-Nās, and from the place where the fiefs appear to have been actually situated, to enable their being made the base of Ikhtiyaruddin's raids into Behar

conferred on him, and he was very active and bold in making raids and in otherwise exerting himself He constantly marched towards Behar and Muner,[1] and raided that tract and acquired much booty. When Sultān Kutbuddīn heard of his deeds of boldness and intrepidity, he sent an imperial robe of honour and standard for him, and Malik Ikhtiyaruddīn, having with the help and favour, and encouragement of the Sultān, conquered the fort of Behar, plundered and ravaged the whole of that country, and acquired much booty He made the inhabitants of the country, who were all old and ascetic Brahmans and had their heads shaven; food for his merciless sword In the language of Hindustān, a college is called a Behar,[2] and as this province had formerly been a mine of learning, it had got the name of Behar

After this, when Ikhtiyaruddīn joined the service of Sultān Kutbuddīn, he received many benefactions and favours from him, so much so, that he became the subject of the envy of the other nobles; and the latter, who could not endure to see so many favours showered on him, uttered words in the Sultān's presence, expressive of their contempt and hatred of him It happened one day that Sultān Kutbuddīn held a court in the white castle and received the great nobles A must[3] (rampant) elephant was brought there, and the people said that there was not another elephant in the whole of India that could stand in front of it, and could withstand a shock from it The Sultān made a sign to Muhammad Bakhtiyar to fight with that elephant, when the latter struck such a blow with the mace, which he had in his hand, on its trunk, that it at once turned round and fled discomfited The Sultān on seeing this was struck with amazement, and he conferred many rewards and favours on Ikhtiyaruddīn, and entrusted the rule of the country of Lakhnauti to him, and nominated him for the duty of conquering it As he had already conquered the fort of Behar, the fame of his bravery and prowess had reached the people of Lakhnauti All the Brahmans and astrologers went to Lakhmania[4] son of Rai

[1] A very old place, at the confluence of the Sone with the Ganges, on the right bank of the former

[2] Sanskrit vihāra a monastery

[3] The different versions of this anecdote have been given in the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ trans, p 554, and in note 5, p 553

[4] The name is given in the lithographed edition as Lakhmanesh, and in the MSS as Lakhmania, Lakhmani sah and Lakhmah

Lakhman, whose capital was at Nudiar, and whom all the Rais of Hindustān considered to be their leader[1] and guide, and held in great honour and reverence, and explained to him that it was noted in their ancient books, that the country would come into the possession of the Turks, i e the Musalmāns, and that the prophecy was about to be fulfilled, as the Turk had taken possession of Behar, and the next year they would take the whole of his kingdom into their possession Lakhmania asked, whether any particular sign, by which the man who would conquer the realm could be identified, was noted in their astrological books? They answered, 'Yes, when the man should stand upright on his two feet, and stretch his arms downwards, the tips of his fingers would reach beyond his knee caps' Rai Lakhmania sent men to ascertain whether these indications were to be found in the commander of the Turks When it was known that these indications were correct, all the Brahmans and astrologers left the country, and went away to the courts of Kamrud and Jagarnath Rai Lakhmania did not consider it advisable to leave his kingdom The next year Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar started from Behar, and with a small force reached the city of Nudiar by successive rapid marches Lakhmania in great confusion embarked in a boat and escaped, and all his treasure and the paraphernalia of state, which were beyond the bounds of all account and calculation, fell into Muhammad Bakhtiyar's hands The latter devastated the city of Nudiar, and in place of it, founded another city, which has become Lakhnauti, and made it his capital, and today that city is in ruins and is known as Gour

In short, Muhammad Bakhtiyar assumed the canopy, and had prayers read, and coin struck in his own name and founded mosques and Khānkahs[2] and colleges, in the place of the temples of the heathen, and he sent many precious articles for the acceptance of Sultān Kutbuddin Aibak, out of the booty which he had acquired

[1] It has been suggested that he was their spiritual guide, because he evidently did not possess such power as to entitle him to be described as lord paramount There is no reason however to hold that he was specially honoured as the spiritual guide or head of all the rulers of India Probably he was held in great honour on account of his age and character.

[2] Asylums for darwashes or religious mendicants

After the lapse of a further period, when his power and grandeur had reached a stage of perfection, the determination to conquer Tibbat and Turkistān, found a way into his mind, and he advanced towards those countries with twelve thousand well armed and well equipped mounted troops, taking Amīr[1] 'Alī Mej, who had been converted by him to Islām, as his guide. He reached a city which bore the name of Bardhan,[2] and in front of that city there was a river, which in depth and width was four times the size of the Ganges, and the name of that river was the Begmati.[3] They say that when Shāh Karshāsp returned from the country of Turkistān, towards Hindustān, by way of Bardhan, he erected a bridge over this river, and passed over it and came towards Kāmrud. In short, when Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar reached the head of that bridge, he left two of his trustworthy companions there, in order to guard it, while he himself crossed over and entered the country of Tibbat. Then he traversed high and impassable mountain ranges for ten days,[4] and then reached a place where there was a

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[1] The lithographed edition calls him Amīr 'Alī Sheikh; the MSS. are not very distinct, but I think they read Mej. To this day a portion of the Mongol aborigines in the N. and N.E. of Bengal are called by the name of Mech or Mej (see note 4, p. 560, Ṭab-i-Nās. trans.).

[2] The name of the city according to the Ṭabāḳat-i-Nāsirī (p. 561 of the trans.) was Bardhan Kot.

[3] The lithographed edition and two of the MSS. say that the name of the city شہر is Ṭamkadi or Namkadi or something like that. MS. C. is correct so far as it substitutes the word نہر for شہر, but it calls the *Nahr*, Nenkadi. Major Raverty (see note 1, p. 561 of his trans. of the Tab-i-Nās.) says that the name of the river is given in the best and oldest copies of the Tabakat-i-Nāsirī as Begmati, but some others, the next best copies have Beghati, Bākmati or Bagmati, and others have Bangmati, Magmandi and Nangmati or Nagmati. Bāgmati, as he says, is not an uncommon name for a river, and is applied to more than one. The river of Nepal which lower down is called the Grandhak (sic) is called Bāgmati. The men who copied the Ṭab-i-Aḳbari have gone further astray than those who copied the Ṭab-i-Nās.

[4] The Ṭab-i Nās. makes the march a much longer one. According to it, the army marched for ten days up the river among the mountains, and then crossed it by a bridge of hewn stones, which had been built in remote times and consisted of upwards of twenty arches. After passing over the bridge, the army marched for a period of fifteen days through defiles and passes, ascending and descending among lofty mountains. On the sixteenth day the open country of Tibbat was reached. It was here that the fort of great strength was situated.

lofty fort extremely strongly built and almost impregnable The garrison came but to give battle, and the battle and slaughter went on to the end of the day[1], and many of Muhammad Bakhtiyar's soldiers were killed or wounded When night came on, he encamped round the fort and remained there He then made enquiries about the country and its peculiarities, and it became certain that five leagues from this place, there was a city called Karamsen[2] where there were fifty thousand blood-thirsty Turkish spearmen [3] As the army of Islām was worn out with fatigue after its long journey, and did not have the strength to encounter and overcome such a force on hearing this news, Bakhtiyar left the place, and returned to the head of the bridge of Bardhan

He found that two of the arches of the bridge were owing to the dissensions between the two Amīrs, left in charge of it, broken [4] He was thunderstruck, and determined that the army should fortify itself in some strong place, till boats could be built, and all the other preparations made for crossing the river The scouts brought the information that there was a temple in the neighbourhood, which was very strong and lofty Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar with all his noblemen

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[1] The Ṭab-i-Nās says that the information was obtained from such of the garrison as were taken prisoners

[2] The name of the city is clearly Karamsen in the lithographed edition and in MSS B and C It is Karaman in MS A Major Raverty says that the oldest copies of the Ṭab-i-Nās have Karbattan, Karpattan, or Karārbattan, or Karārpattan, other copies have Karampattan The Zubdat-ut-tawārīkh has Karshin or Karantan Other works have Karam Sin He hazards a surmise, that the place may be identical with Dharampattan which was the ancient name of Bhātīghun, the Benares of the Gurkha dominions, which was once a large place, or with Lalitapattan which was in ancient times the seat of an independent ruler, and lies near the Bagmadi river, but both these places are too far south and west to be the city here indicated

[3] The lithographed edition and two of the MSS have spearmen, MS A has archers

[4] The meaning of course is that the Amīrs had quarrelled, and had not guarded the bridge, and the people of the country had broken down two of the arches The Ṭab-i-Nās says that the Amīrs had, owing to their disputes, neglected to secure the bridge and to protect the road, and the Hindus of the Kāmrud country had come and destroyed the bridge. The Zubdat-ut-tawārīkh says that the two Amīr to spite each other, abandoned guarding the bridge, and each went his own way, Badāuni says they first fought, and afterwards abandoned the bridge

went into it and fortified themselves At this time the Rai[1] of Kāmrud came to know that Muhammad Bakhtiyar had taken shelter in the temple, in a state of great distress and misery He issued orders throughout his dominions, and the people came in great crowds and planted[2] spiked bamboos into the ground, all round the temple, and wove them together, and placed them upright on the wall of the temple When Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar saw himself caught in this snare of danger, he came out of the temple and encamped on the bank of the Bagmadi, and occupied himself with preparations for crossing the river Suddenly a horseman waded into the water to the distance of the flight of an arrow, and the soldiers thought that the river could be forded They all at once struck into the water, but as it was not fordable beyond the point to which the horseman had waded, many were drowned May the mercy of God be upon them ! After many of the soldiers had been drowned, Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar crossed the river, with a few, with great difficulty and arrived at Deukot [3]

Bakhtiyar fell ill on account of the great grief and anxiety which oppressed his mind He said to his adherents, "Perhaps some great calamity has overtaken Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām, that I have fallen on evil days and fortune has left me stranded " It so happened that in these very days Sultān Mu'izzuddīn attained to martyrdom Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar died of this same malady, and journeyed to the abode permanent It is said that one of his great nobles, whose name was 'Ali Mardān, came to Deukot from his fief of Barsoh,[4] when he heard of the catastrophe which had overtaken his

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[1] This is the first mention of the Rai of Kāmrud (Kamrup) in the Ṭab-i-Akb , but according to the Tab-i-Nās he sent men to Muhammad Bakhtiyar, when the latter crossed the river, on his way to Tibbat and tried to dissuade him from undertaking the expedition that year, and promised that he would himself precede the Musalmān army next year with his own forces and assist Bakhtiyar to acquire the country

[2] This is the only meaning, which the passage, as given in the lith ed and in the MSS , which agree except in respect to one word, can bear, but the meaning apparently is that the people made a bamboo stockade round the temple

[3] In what is now the Dinajpur district Those who escaped, appear to have crossed the river on rafts

[4] The name of the fief is given as Barsoi or Barsul in the lith ed In the MSS it

chief. At this time the latter was lying on the bed of sickness. No one went near him. 'Ali Mardān went to him, drew off the sheet from his face, and with one blow of his dagger killed him. This happened in the year 602 A.H.

'Izzuddīn Muhammad Sherwān[1]

He and his brother[2] were among the great nobles of Muhammad Bakhtiyar. This Muhammad Sherwān was very brave and active and shrewd, so much so, that on the day on which Muhammad Bakhtiyar captured the city of Nudiar and routed Lakhmania, and dispersed his forces, Muhammad Sherwān, single-handed, captured eighteen elephants with the drivers in a forest, and guarded them there. After three days, when Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar heard of this, he sent a body of horsemen who drove the elephants before them, and brought them before him.

When Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar marched with his army towards Tibbat and Kāmrud, he sent Muhammad Sherwān and his brother, with a body of his own troops, in the direction of Jājnagar. After Muhammad Bakhtiyar had met with his great catastrophe, Muhammad Sherwān and his brother came from Jājnagar to Deukot and performed the mourning rites (for Muhammad Bakhtiyar), and they[3] went from there to Barsoli with a body of the Jājnagar army,

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is written as Barsolī or Barsūlī or Parsūlī. It appears that in the oldest and best copies of the Ṭab-i-Nās. it is written as Narankoe.

[1] The name is given as Shirwān or Sherwān in the lith. ed. and in two of the MSS. without an ی after the ش. In the third MS. there is an ی. The name is given as Sherān in the Ṭabaḳat-i-Nasiri. Major Raverty says, however, that some other authors have written it as Sherwān. He says that Sherān is plural of Sher, lion, tiger, and the plural is intended to express the superlative degree, so that Sherān means very brave lion or tiger.

[2] The lith. ed. and MS. A speak of the brothers of Muhammad Sherwān, i.e. according to them he had more than one brother, MSS. B and C always speak of his brother in the singular. The Ṭabakat-i-Nāsirī says distinctly, that there were two brothers, Muhammad Sherwān or Sherān and Ahmad Sherwān or Sherān.

[3] The lith. ed. and MS. C say that Muhammad Sherwān alone went to Bārsol or Pārsol. MS. A says that Muhammad Sherwān and his brothers with a body of the Jājnagar army went. MS. B is confused for after saying that Muhammad Sherwān

and seized 'Alī Mardān, who had assassinated Muhammad Bakhtiyar, and imprisoned him, and made him over to a Kotwāl (Police Superintendent or Jailor) who was called Bābā Kotwāl Isfāhānī, after which he returned to Deukot, when all the Khalj nobles acknowledged him as their head, and did homage to him

'Alī Mardān, however, gained over Bābā Kotwāl, and escaping from prison, went to Dehli, and joined the service of Sultān Kutbuddīn Aibak, and made certain representations to him In consequence of this, Sultān Kutbuddīn sent Kaimāz Rūmī[1] to Lakhnauti, and ordered that he should station each of the Khalj nobles, who were in those parts, at a suitable place Kaimāz Rūmī went, and in accordance with the Sultān's order posted each one of the Khalj nobles at a suitable locality Malik Hisāmuddīn 'Iwaz Khalji, who from before the time of Muhammad Bakhtiyar held the fief of Kalwāi,[2] hastened forward to receive Kaimāz Rūmī and accompanied him to Deukot, which was assigned to him as his fief When Kaimāz Rūmī returned from Deukot towards Audh, Malik Muhammad sherwān and all the Khalj nobles who were with him marched to Deukot When Kaimāz Rūmī heard this, he returned and gave battle to the Khalj nobles The latter were defeated and went away in the direction of Tūs,[3] and there hostilities broke out among them and Muhammad sherwān attained martyrdom His grave is there

'Alī Mardān Khaljī

[He] was celebrated and notorious for activity, and bravery, and pride, and high spirit When he escaped from prison and joined Sultān Kutbuddīn, he attended the latter, when he went to Ghaznīn He was there captured by the Turks, and was taken to Kāshghar, and remained there They say that one day Sultān Tājuddīn Yelduz went out to hunt 'Alī Mardān also accompanied him He then spoke to

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and his brother came from Jājnagar to Deukot and performed the funeral rites there, it goes on to say that they went from Jājnagar to Bārsol

[1] Major Raverty explains Rūmī as native of Rum ha Rūmī, however, ordinarily means a Turk who comes from Constantinople, or any other part of European Turkey

[2] The Tabakat-i-Nāsirī gives the name of the fief as Kankuri or Kaskuri

[3] The lith ed and MSS A and B read Tūs MS C reads Santūs The Tabakat-i-Nāsirī says that it was in Maksada and Santūs that disagreement arose among the

one of the Khalj nobles who was called Sālār Zafar[1] and said, "How would it be if I finished Sultān Tājuddīn with my spear[2] and made thee the bādshāh ?" Sālār Zafar was a wise and righteous man, and did not have the lust of empire in his heart He forbade 'Ali Mardān's doing such an evil deed, and giving him two Arab horses, sent him away towards Hindustān

When he again reached the court of Sultān Ḳuṭbuddīn and joined his service, he was honoured with various favours and gifts, and the dominion of Lakhnauti was given to him in Jāigīr, and he started on his journey to that place After he had crossed the Kusi, Malik Hisāmuddīn Iwaz Khaljī advanced from Deukot to meet him On arrival at Deuḳot, he was placed on the seat of power, and took possession of the entire country of Lakhnauti After Sultān Kuṭbuddīn had been united with the Divine Mercy, he assumed the royal canopy and had the Khuṭba read and Sikka struck in his own name and took the title of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn He had so much pride and hauteur that he distributed the kingdoms of Irān and Turān among his nobles, and he was such an oppressor and tyrant, that no one had the hardihood to tell him that these countries were outside his dominions

When evil thou hast done, think not thyself from danger safe,
For nature herself, for evil done, doth punishment provide

When his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Khalj nobles conspired together and slew him

It has been reported that there was a merchant smitten with calamity, who complained to him of his poverty He asked, 'Whence is this man ?' They said, 'from Isfāhān ' He ordered a decree to be written assigning Isfāhān to him as his fief The merchant did not accept the decree The Ministers were afraid to bring this to the notice of the Sulṭān, but they represented to him, that the new ruler of Isfāhān had no funds for the expenses of the journey and of levying an

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Khalj nobles Major Raverty says that Maksidah or Maksidah (Sic in note) may be the Maxadabad of the old Maps and old travellers He also says that the Ṭabāḳat-i-Akbari, has Sanṭūs only, thus confirming MS. C See Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 576, and note 4

[1] Major Raverty thinks that this name should be pronounced Zaffir

[2] The lith ed and the MSS all read نیزه spear The Ṭabakat-i-Nāsirī reads arrow (see p 577 of the trans)

army to bring the territory into his possession Upon this he gave an order for giving him such a large amount as was beyond all his expectation

After he had been put to death, the Amīrs combined together and placed Malik Hisāmuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī on the throne

'Alī Mardān ruled for two years

Malik Hisāmuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī

[He] was one of the nobles of the Khalj tribe, living in the Garmsīr country, and had praiseworthy qualities and beneficent attributes When he left his own country and arrived at an elevated spot in Turkistān, which was called Pushtah-i-Fīroz,[1] two men, dressed in ragged and patched cloaks, who were completely destitute of all provisions for a journey, and were traversing mountains and deserts, depending merely in the help of God, arrived there They said to Malik Hisāmuddīn, "Master ! hast thou got any provisions ?" Malik Hisāmuddīn placed before them some cakes of bread, with some delicate condiments The Darweshes ate with great relish and said, "Master, thou shouldst go to Hindustān, for a kingdom hath been assigned to thee out of the regions of that country "

Couplet

One dressed in garments coarse, that on the ground doth lie,
On a suppliant confers the kingdom of Zohak

Malik Hisāmuddīn accepted this good news as a true prophecy in his favour, came to Hindustān, and joined the service of Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar, till the Almighty Giver of kingdoms made him the ruler of the country of Lakhnauti and he was named Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Under his just rule, the soldiers and the people all lived in happiness and contentment Many marks of the holy beneficence of that king of auspicious attributes have been left on

[1] It is so called in the lith ed and in MSS A and B MS C calls it Pushtah Afroz This is also the name given in the Ṭabākat-i-Nāsiri (p 10) Pushtan-i-Firoz would mean the mound of victory while Pushtah Afroz according to Major Raverty means the burning mound This is, however, scarcely correct Afroz affixed to a word means what burns or inflames or brightens the thing which is connoted by the word to which it is affixed Dilafroz means what inflames, or excites the heart, and not burning heart, so "Shabafroz "

the pages of time, which testify to the excellence of his intentions. The countries of Bangālah, Tirhut, Kāmrūd and Jājnagar all paid him revenue or tribute

In the year 622 A H Sulṭān Shamsuddīn invaded Bangālah and the two armies met[1] and a treaty was concluded Ghiāsuddīn gave thirty-eight elephants, and eighty lakhs of tangahs[2] to Sulṭān Shamsuddīn and read the Khuṭbah in his name When Sulṭān Shamsuddīn returned to Dehli he entrusted the government of Behar to Malik[3] 'Alāuddīn-Khāni but afterwards Ghiāsuddīn went from Lakhnauti to Behar and recovered possession of it, and remained in possession till the year 624 A H, when Malik Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, came from Audh to Lakhnauti, with a large army, at the instigation of Malik Khāni At that time Ghiāsuddīn 'Iwaz had marched towards Kāmrūd from Lakhnauti with a large army Malik Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd took possession of Lakhnauti Ghiāsuddīn 'Iwaz returned and gave battle, but was taken prisoner with many of his nobles and was slain

[1] There could not have been a regular battle There might have been only a skirmish According to the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī the armies did not meet as Sultān Ghiāsuddīn moved his vessels (war boats) up the river, while according to another writer he removed and secured all the boats on the river, so that Altamsh could not cross the Ganges (see Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 593, also note 6)

[2] The word tangah signifies a thin plate, leaf or slice of gold or silver It is difficult to find out the exact value of a tangah There were gold and silver tangahs According to Ferishtah who copied the Tarikh-i-Firozshahi a gold tangah was a tola of gold, stamped, and a silver tangah was equal to fifty pūls A pūl (i e a piece of anything orbicular) of copper (bronze ?) being called a jital, the weight of which was, however, not known exactly According to other writers a tangah was either the fifth, tenth or hundredth of a rūpī As to the rūpī it appears that four Jitals = a Gandah, twenty gandahs one anna and sixteen annas one rūpī, but the value of these denominations is not known and probably varied a good deal at different periods The Tabākāt-i-Nāsirī says the tribute consisted of eighty lakhs of *treasure* The Tashirat-ul-muluk is more definite, it says eighty lakhs in silver tangahs

[3] The name is so given in the lith ed and in all these MSS but the second word may be read in the MSS as Khānī or Jānī In the Ṭab-i-Nās (trans, p 594) the name is Malik Izzuddīn Jānī, but it is said in note 1 in the same page that he is called elsewhere in the work, and in some copies of the text in that particular passage also, as well as in other works, by the name of 'Alāuddīn Jānī

They say that when the auspicious Sulṭān Shamsuddīn Altamsh (may God make his grave fragrant [1]) came after the death of his son Malık Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd to Lakhnauti, in order to quell the rebellion of[1] Malık Ikhtıyaruddīn, and saw the marks of beneficence which had been left behind by Malık Hısāmuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī with an eye of respect, he said with the justice, which was always a characteristic of his esteemed personality, that there was no objection in giving the title of Sulṭān to a man who had done so much good and performed such noble deeds

His reign extended to a period of twelve years

Sultān Ārām Shāh bin[2] Sultān Kutbuddīn

When Sultān Kutbuddın departed from this world as the world cannot go on without a ruler, the nobles and the high officers of State, in accordance with the law of inheritance, placed Ārām Shāh except whom he had no other son, on the throne of Lahore, and sending out orders and decrees in all directions and districts, proclaimed the glad tidings of his justice and impartiality While this was being done, the Sıpāh Sālār (commander of the forces), 'Alı Ismāel,[3] who was the Governor of the province of Dehlı, in com-

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[1] This was Malık Ikhtıyaruddīn Daulat Shah-ı-Balka who according to some writers was a son of Ghıasuddīn, and according to others a kinsman of his, who regained and ruled the territory for a time (see Ṭab-ı-Nās, p 594, note 1)

[2] As to whether Ārām Shāh was Kuṭbuddīn's son, see note 4, p 520, Ṭab-ı-Nās trans Some writers say that Ārām Shāh was Kutbuddīn's son, others say that the latter had no offspring besides his three daughters Ārām Shāh was probably Kuṭbuddīn's adopted son Abul Fazl makes the astonishing statement that he was Kuṭbuddīn's brother

[3] This name ıs given in all the three MSS The lith ed makes it Amīr 'Alı Ismāel in one place and Amīr A'lı Dad or Wad in another Major Raverty in note 4, p 529, of his trans of the Ṭab-ı-Nās calls him the Amīr-ı-Dad, which would mean the Lord Chief Justice but he also says that he has been called Amīr Dā'ūd by some, and he also calls him the Governor of the city or province of Dehlı, i e the Amīr Dıyār Dehlı The Sıpah Sālār and the Amīr Dad are not mentioned together in the Ṭabākāt-ı-Akbarı except in one place in two of the MSS, where the lith ed has دیار and the third MS دار instead of داد, and it cannot be said with certainty whether they were the same person or two different persons According to note 4, p 529, Ṭab-ı-Nās trans, they appear to have been two distinct persons, but according to the trans,

bination with some other nobles, sent a messenger to summon Malik Altamsh, who was a slave, as well as the son-in-law of Sultān Ḳuṭbuddīn, and to whom the latter had given the name of son also; and who was at the time the Governor of Badāūn, and begged him to accept the sovereignty Malik Altamsh came to Dehli and took possession of it Ārām Shāh, who was in the vicinity of Dehli, gave assurances to the nobles and soldiers of his father and collecting them in a body came to Dehli. Malik Altamsh, arrayed his forces on the plain of Jūd and gave battle. Ārām Shāh[1] was defeated

Sulṭān Kutbuddīn had three daughters Two of them were married in succession to Malik Nāsiruddīn Ḳabājah, and one to Malik Altamsh

After the death of Sulṭān Ḳuṭbuddīn, Malik Nāsiruddīn Ḳabājah went in the direction of Sind, and took possession of Multān, Uchh, Bhakar and Sīwastān Dehli came into the possession of Malik Altamsh, with the help of the Amīr-i-Daud and other nobles, and the country of Lakhnauti and Bangālah was in the possession of Malik Hisāmuddīn Khalj

Ārām Shāh's reign did not extend[2] to one year

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p 605, they were one and the same Major Raverty has noticed the fact that the command of troops seems incompatible with the duties of a judge, though he says that the Sipah Sālār may have heard and disposed of suits with the aid of Kāzis and Muftis This is rather far-fetched Besides that same person was also the Governor of the city or province of Dehli

[1] What became of Ārām Shāh after his defeat is not clear Major Raverty has adopted the reading of the passage in the Ṭab-i-Nās about the death of Ārām Shāh, according to which the latter was martyred or put to death He says, however, in a note that all the modern copies of the text and one of the oldest also, say instead, that "the decree of destiny reached Ārām Shāh," which would leave it somewhat doubtful as to whether he died a natural or a violent death

[2] Others contend that his reign extended over a period of three years Major Raverty says that the inscriptions on two coins of Ārām Shāh and Altamsh, of which the former was struck in the year 607 A H, and the latter in the year 612 A H, and which is described in the coin as "the first of his reign," corroborates the statement of those who say that Ārām Shāh's reign extended over three years It does not appear, however, that anyone says it extended to five years, 607 to 612 A H On the other hand, it is distinctly stated both in the Ṭab-i-Nās. and in the Ṭab-i-Akb that Altamsh ascended the throne at Dehli in 607 A H

SULTĀN SHAMSUDDĪN[1] ALTAMSH

There is a tradition that his father was named Ilam Khān, and he was the chief of a group of the tribes of Turkistān. His brothers, and according to another tradition, his nephews, owing to the jealousy and hatred which they bore him in his youth, took him, like Yusuf (of old), to some gardens and fields for amusement, and then sold him by force to a merchant. The merchant took him to Bukhārā, and sold him to one of the great men[2] of that city. For sometimes he received kindly treatment and training in a family of generous people. Then as was predestined, a merchant named Hāji Bukhārī bought him and sold him again to Jamaluddīn Chust Kabā. The latter took him to Ghaznīn. As in those days no Turkish lad of a more handsome face, and with greater intelligence, had come to Ghaznīn, people spoke about him to Sultān Muhammad Sām. The Sulṭān ordered that a price should be settled for him. There was another slave called Aibak with him. The price of each of them was fixed at one thousand Rukni Dinārs.[3] Khwājah Jamāluddīn objected to sell him at that price. The Sultān ordered that no one should purchase him, and the sale should remain in abeyance. After a year Khwājah Jamāluddīn went towards Bukhārā and took Altamsh with him. When he came back he remained in Ghaznīn for a year. People dared not buy Altamsh without the Sultān's order, till Sulṭān[4] Kutbuddīn Aibak came to

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[1] I have adopted this form of the name in preference to Ival-timish, for whatever may have been the spelling and pronunciation of the name in Turkish the spelling in Persian histories is التمسی

[2] According to the Ṭab-i-Nās, he was sold to one of the kinsmen of the Sadr-i-Jahān (the chief ecclesiastic) of Bukhārā (see p. 602 of the trans.)

[3] The Ṭabakāt-i-Nasiri says that the sum of a thousand dinars of pure Rukni gold was specified for the two (p. 601 of the trans.), but it appears from a note that some copies have two thousand instead of one. This would agree with the Ṭab-i-Akb which says distinctly that one thousand Rukni Dinārs was fixed as the price of each. The next sentence which is almost identical in the Ṭab-i-Nās and the Ṭab-i-Akb shows that the price was fixed separately for the two slaves, as the merchant objected to sell Altamsh at the price fixed, but apparently had no objection about the other slave.

[4] I have called Kuṭbuddin, Sulṭān as in the original, though he was not a Sulṭān yet, but only a Malik and also a slave.

Ghaznīn with Malik[1] Nasiruddīn Kharmil, after the victory of Nahrwalah and the conquest of Gujrāt He heard of Altamsh, and solicited permission to buy him The Sulṭān said, "I have ordered that no one should purchase him The sale and purchase of him at Ghaznīn is not desirable Let him be taken to the country of Dehli and be sold there."

When Sulṭān Kuṭbuddīn returned from Ghaznīn he left Nizāmuddīn Muhammad there, for attending to certain matters, and ordered that he should bring Jamāluddīn Chust Ḳabā with him [to Dehli], so that he might buy Altamsh from him When they came, Sulṭān Ḳuṭbuddīn bought each of the two Turks, i e Altamsh and Aibak for one lakh of jitals[2] He gave the name of Taghmāj[3] to Aibak and made him the Amīr of Sarhind Taghmāj drank the sharbat of death in the war between Sultān Kuṭbuddīn and Sulṭān Tājuddīn Yelduz Kuṭbuddīn gave the title of son to Altamsh, and honoured him by keeping him near his own person After the victory of Gwālior, he made him Amīr of that place, and after that Baran,[3] and the tract of country round it, were entrusted to him, and as Ḳutbuddīn repeatedly saw marks of valour and of the capacity of leadership in him, he bestowed the country off Badāūn[4] on him

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[1] This name does not occur elsewhere 'Izzuddīn Kharmīl, who was probably his brother, was one of the commanders in the army of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn

[2] If a jītal was only $\frac{1}{1280}$th part of a rūpi, a lakh of jītals would only amount to seventy-eight rūpis and eight annas, therefore either the jital must have had a far higher value than is ordinarily assigned to it, or the amount of one lakh jītals, which is the amount mentioned in the text, as well as in the Tabākat-i-Nāsirī and various other authors, must be incorrect The Tazkirat-ul-Mūlūk says the price was fifty lakhs jitals, and Badāūn a lakh of tangahs

[3] The names of Ṭaghmāj and Sarhind are given in the lith ed and in all the MSS According to the Ṭab-i-Nās the name of Aibak was changed to Ṭamghāj, and he was made Amīr of Tabarhindah Major Raverty says that Ṭamghāj must have been superior in every way, at that time, to Altamsh, have been at once made Amīr of Tabarhindah I do not think that it necessarily follows that he was at once made Amīr of Tabarhindah The whole of his history is given in one sentence and he probably rose to be Amīr of Tabarhindah after some considerable time Altamsh also was probably not honoured with the title of Kutbuddīn's son, at once

[4] Baran is the modern Buland Shahr The fief of Badāūn was then and for some time afterwards the largest and most important in the kingdom

When Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Sām came to India, to put an end to the disturbances caused by the Khokhars, and according to his orders, Sulṭān Kuṭbuddīn also went to attend on him, with his own army, Altamsh joined Sultān Kutbuddīn with the army of Badāūn In the battle Altamsh, who in the matter of bravery and valour had become one of the greatest of the age, rode into the water in the full panoply of war and attacked the enemy. Sultān Mu'izzuddīn noted his great bravery and energy, and sent for him, and distinguished him with rewards and royal favours and he specially pressed and urged the matter of his promotion, and of showing kindness to him, on the attention of Sulṭān Ḳutbuddīn At that very time, by order of the Sulṭān, the letter of his manumission was written, and he rose, step by step, to the rank of Amīr-ul-umra

When Sulṭān Kuṭbuddīn died at Lahore, at the request of the[1] Sipah Sālār Ismāel, the Amīr Dād (the chief justice) of Dehli and other nobles, Malik Altamsh came with his followers and the army of Badāūn, and having taken possession of Dehli, assumed the title of Sultān Shamsuddīn, and in the year 607 ascended the throne Many of the Kutbi Amīrs and Maliks submitted to him, but some of the Mu'izzi and Kuṭbi Amīrs who had rushed forward from the different places round Dehli revolted against him, but as the lamp of his greatness had been illuminated by the light of Divine help, the attempts made by his foolish enemies to extinguish it had no other effect than their own discomfiture, and they all became food for the merciless sword, and the field of his empire was cleared of the thorns and weeds of their existence

Couplet

Wrestle not with the pious one, accepted of God
For hard it is to overthrow one so accepted

After that Sulṭān[2] Tājuddīn Yelduz the Mu'izzi, who was (now) the king of Ghaznīn sent for him a canopy and other insignia of royalty;

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[1] There are different readings in the lith ed and in the MSS I have adopted the reading of MS A with a slight variation, specially as it did not appear to me to be likely that the same person would be Sipah Sālār as well Amīr-i-dād

[2] The lith ed varies greatly from the MSS here and the latter also vary slightly

and after some time Sulṭān Tājuddīn, having been defeated by the army of Khwārizm, came to Lahore and took possession of it. Sulṭān Shamsuddīn advanced to encounter him, and in the year 612 A H there was a great battle between them within the limits of Tarāin, and Sulṭān Tājuddīn was defeated and taken prisoner. He was brought to Dehli, and was imprisoned in Badāūn, and he died there

In the year 614[1] A H , there was war between Sulṭān Shamsuddīn and Malik Nāsiruddīn Kabājah, who was the son-in-law of Sulṭān Kutbuddīn, and here also Sulṭān Shamsuddīn was victorious There were several battles with Malik Nāsiruddīn in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and each time victory fell to Sulṭān Shamsuddīn, till at the end, Sultān Shamsuddīn marched forward and attacked Nāsiruddīn The latter strengthened the fort of Uchch, and betook himself to that of Bhakar Nizām-ul-Mulk [Muhammad Junaidi] the Vazir and certain other commanders were nominated by Shamsuddīn for the task of pursuing Malik Nāsiruddīn, and the Sulṭān himself besieged Uchch and seized[2] it after two months and twenty-five days When the news of the conquest of the fort reached Malik Nāsiruddīn, he sent his son 'Alāuddīn Bahrām Shāh to Sulṭān Shamsuddīn and prayed for peace Shortly after this the news of the capture of Bhakar came They say that after the capture of the Malik Nāsiruddīn was drowned in the river[3]

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from one another The lith ed is not quite intelligible It reads thus "after this Sulṭān Tājuddīn Mu'izzi, who was the King of Ghaznīn and for whom Sulṭān Mahmūd bin Muhammad Sām had sent a canopy and a *durbash* (i e a spear with two horns or branches carried before kings, etc) from Firoz Koh and after some time when," etc The MSS do not mention Sulṭān Mahmūd bin Muhammad Sām at all in this connection, and they have instead of the word 'durbash' 'Imārat', 'Alāt' and 'adwāt' respectively The Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī says Sulṭān Tājuddin Yelduz, from Lahore, and Ghaznīn entered into a compact with him (Shamsuddīn Altamsh), and sent him a canopy of state and a *durbash* (p 607 of the translation), which agrees with the reading adopted

[1] According to the Ṭab-i-Nās these events took place in 624 A H Badāūni and the Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh agree with one author in saying that they took place in 614, but they are all wrong

[2] The Ṭab-i-Nās says that the hostilities at the foot of the fort lasted for three months, after which it surrendered on terms of capitulation

[3] It is not clear from this whether he was accidentally drowned or otherwise The Ṭab-i-Nās says that he drowned himself (p 544 of the trans)

After this event, in the year 618 A H, Sultān Jalāluddīn Khwārizm Shāh being defeated by Chengiz Khān, came towards Lahore Sulṭān Shamsuddīn went and opposed him with a large army[1] Sulṭān Jalāluddīn unable to withstand him, went towards Sind and Siwāstān and thence escaped by way of Kaj and Makrān After this in the year 622 A H, Sulṭān Shamsuddīn marched with his army towards Lakhnauti and Behar, and brought Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn Khaljī, an account of whom has been already given, and who had acquired great power in that territory under subjection, and had the Khuṭbah read and coin struck in his own name, and obtained thirty-eight elephants and eighty thousand silver tanghas from him He gave his eldest son the title of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn, and placing the territory of Lakhnauti in his charge[2] and granting him a canopy and a *durbash*, left him in Audh, and himself returned to his capital, Dehli Malik Nāsiruddīn fought with Ghiāsuddīn Khaljī, who was the ruler of that territory, and defeated him He took him prisoner, and had him slain Much booty fell into his hands He remembered most of the notable and known men of Dehli, and sent presents to each one of them

In the year 623 A H, the Sultān determined on the conquest of Rantambor, and marching with his army in that direction captured that fort In the year 624 A H, he advanced, with his army, for the

[1] This does not appear to be correct The Ṭabaḳ-i-Nāṣ in one place says (p 293 of the trans), that Shamsuddīn "despatched a force from his armies" against Sulṭān Jalāluddīn while in another place (p 609 of the trans) he says that he "marched from Dehli towards Lahore, with the forces of Hindustān, and Sulṭān Jalāluddīn Khwārizm Shāh having turned aside from the host of Hindustān marched away towards Sind and Siwāstān" It appears, however, that Shamsuddīn did not send any army against Jalāluddīn He sent on the other hand an envoy with rich presents and supplies, and false excuses for the murder of Jalāluddīn's envoy (which he had himself previously instigated) Jalāluddīn was, however, not strong enough to bring Shamsuddīn to account, so he attacked the Khokhars, and after subjugating them, with their help established himself in Sind He maintained himself there till 621 A H, when receiving information that the army in Irāḳ wanted him there, he went there by way of Makrān

[2] The charge was at first a merely nominal one, as Ghiāsuddīn Khaljī continued to rule the territory till his defeat and death Malik or Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn was apparently stationed in Audh to wait for a favourable opportunity for conquering Lakhnauti

conquest of the fort of Mandwar,[1] and brought that fort, and the whole of the Siwalik into his possession The same year he returned to his capital of Dehli Amīr Ruhānī, who was one of the learned men of that age, and who after the catastrophe of Chengiz Khān, had come from Bukhārā to Dehli, wrote some eloquent verses in congratulation of these victories The following couplets form part of them:

> The angel Gabriel, to the denizens of the sky, did bear
> The news of the triumphs of Shamsuddīn, the Sulṭān great;
> Oh holy angels ! that on the highest heavens do dwell,
> For this great news, in heaven build domes and arches high,
> The emperor of Islām, from the Mulohida
> Hath wrested again forts as lofty as the sky,
> The warrior of the faith on whose arm and sweat
> The soul of the impetuous Haidar showers praise

In the year 626 A H, envoys came from Arabia bringing robes of the Khalāfat for Sulṭān Shamsuddīn The Sulṭān fulfilled the conditions of reverence and homage, and put on the robes of the Dar-ul-Khalāfat He felt boundless pleasure and happiness, from the putting on of that robe He conferred robes of honour on most of the nobles, and domes were erected in the city, and the drum of joy was beaten

The same year, the news of the death of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn, who

[1] The lith ed and MS A has مندر, MSS B and C مندور The oldest copies of the Ṭab-i-Nās have Mandwar, others Mandud and Mandū, Badāūni who copies from the Ṭab-i-Akb has Mandwar in some copies and Mandū in others The Mirāt-i-Jahān numā has Manewar, the Zubdat-ut-tawārīkh Mardāwar and Feristah Mandū The above is taken from note 8, p 611 of the trans of the Ṭab-i-Nās but Major Raverty transliterates مندور as Mandawar, while I think it should be Mandwar Mandwar (or, Mandore according to Tod) was the capital of the Parihārs, five miles north of Jodhpur Tod says that Mandore was taken from Mokul, the Parihār prince, by Rahup who "obtained Cheetore in S 1257 (A D 1207) and shortly after sustained the attack of Shemsudin (Shamsuddīn) whom he, Rahup, met and overcame in battle at Nagore," so apparently both parties claimed the victory The Siwalik apparently included the whole tract of country south of the Himālayah, between the Ganges and the Sutlej, extending as far south as Hānsī in the Koh-i-Siwalik Nagore was also included in the Siwalik Some writers say that the Siwalik extended as far west as the borders of Kashmīr

was the ruler of Lakhnauti, came Sultān Shamsuddīn performed the mourning ceremonies for him, and gave his name to his younger son, and showed much affection for him. The Tabakat-i-Nāsirī was named in his honour

To return to the narrative in the year 627 A H, the Sulṭān marched with his troops in the direction of Lakhnauti and quelled the disturbances which had occurred there after the death of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn. He put Lakhnauti under the charge of 'Izz-ul-mulk Malik 'Alāuddīn Khān[1] and returned to Dehli, his capital

In the year 629 A H., he marched with his army for the conquest of Gwālior, and besieged it for a year. In the end Malik Deo Basil,[2] who was the ruler of the fort, escaped at night, and the fort came into the possession of the Sultān A large number of men were taken prisoner, and out of these three hundred were executed Malik Tājuddīn Reza, who was the Secretary of State, wrote this quatrain on the subject of the conquest of this fort, and it has been carved on a stone on the gate of the fort

Every fort which the Sultān of Sultāns conquered,
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith
The fort of Gwālior,[3] that impregnable fortress,
He conquered in the year six hundred and thirty

After that the Sultān returned from there, and in the year 631 A H, he invaded the territory of Mālwah and conquered the fort of the Bhīlsā He also took the city of Ujain, and he had the temple of Mahakāl, which had been erected three hundred years ago,[4] and was extremely strong and massive, completely demolished, destroying it from its foundations, and he carried away the effigy to Bikramājit,

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[1] See note 3, p 59

[2] The first part of the name is given in all the MSS and in the lith ed as Milak Deo ملک د و The second part is given as پلل مثل, مدل and ماپل Major Raverty after giving the various readings in the Ṭab-i-Nāsiri and other works has adopted Mangal Diw, the son of Māl Diw (note 7, p 619 of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans) Mr Thomas (p 66 of the Pathan Kings) thinks that the name may represent Trailokya Deva, the son of Bisāla Deva, one of the Chandel Kings

[3] The name is given in the quatrain, in one of the MSS and in the lith ed , as كاليور

[4] The original is که تا مدتی سه‌صد سال تعمیر یافته بود, which may be translated

from whom the Hindus count their era; and certain other statues which were fashioned of molten brass, and placed them in the ground in front of the Jami' Masjid,[1] so that they might be trampled upon by the people

A second time he marched with his army towards Multān[2] This journey turned out to be inauspicious and an illness seized him, and when he reached Dehli on the 20 Sha'bān in the year 633 A H, he wandered to the other world

It is related in the writings of Khwājah Kuṭbuddin Bakhtiyar,[3] (may the mercy of God be on him!), which have been collected by Sheikh Farid Ganj Shakar (may their tombs be holy), that the desire of excavating a reservoir entered the Sultān's head He went to the presence of the Khwājah [for his help] in selecting a proper site for it and asked his advice The Sulṭān went to a number of places, but went away from them all, till he came to the place where the Shamsi reservoir (i e the reservoir named after Shamsuddīn) is situated when he selected it When night came on, the Sultān saw the prophet (may the benediction and peace of God be on him !) in a dream, mounted on a horse in the centre of the spot The prophet asked him, "Shamsuddīn, what wishest thou ?" The Sultān replied, "Oh prophet of God, I wish to excavate a reservoir " He ordered, "Excavate it here "

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as in the text or as "which took three hundred years in building " Probably the latter is what the author meant

[1] Not the present one which was built by Shah-i-Jahān, but the first Jami' Masjid built by Kuṭbuddin and now known as the Kuṭbi Masjid

[2] The Sulṭān is said in the Ṭab-i-Nās (p 623 of the trans) to have marched into Baniān (or Banyān) Major Raverty thinks that Baniān was the country immediately to the west of the Salt Range Badāūni and Ferishtah copying the Ṭabākāt-i-Akbarī have Multān, but apparently this is incorrect

[3] It is after this saint and not after Kuṭbuddin Aibak that the Kuṭb Minārah is named He was a native of Ush near Baghdād He came to India and first proceeded to Multān in the time of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn Kabājah Subsequently he came to Dehli He was held in such reverence that Sulṭān Shamsuddīn himself went forth from the city to receive him and do him reverence, and accompanied him to the city He, however, took up his residence at Gilukhari on account of the scarcity of water in the city When Sheikh Jalāluddīn, the Bastāmi, who was the Sheikh-ul-Islām, died, the Sulṭān wished him to take that office but the saint declined it He died on the 24th of the month of Rabī-ul-Awal, 633 A H (See note 6, p 621 of Ṭab-i-Nās trans)

The horse of the prophet (may the benediction and peace of God be upon him !) struck its hoof into the ground and a spring of water gushed out. The Sultān woke up from his sleep, and while yet the night was not passed, he went to the service of Khwājah Ḳuṭbuddīn (may his tomb be holy !) and related to him what had happened. The Khwājah (may his tomb be holy !) says that the Sulṭān took him to that spot and with the light of a lamp they saw that a spring had gushed out

There is a story that in the days when Malik Shamsuddīn Altamsh was in poor circumstances[1] in Baghdād, a number of Darweshes used to meet in his master's house, and enjoy such songs and religious exaltation as Darweshes and persons of spiritual experience enjoy Malik Altamsh every night served the Darweshes with head and heart and wept on hearing their songs [2] Kāzī Hamiduddīn Nāgorī was the chief of the assembly As the service of Malik Altamsh pleased the Darweshes, they cast a (kindly) glance on him, and on account of that glance the great and holy God raised him to thank of Sulṭān After an age, when he sat on the throne of empire in the country of Hindustān, and Kāzī Hamiduddīn Nāgorī was engaged in instructing seekers after truth in Dehli, the Darweshes always sang and danced in his lecture hall Two exoteric learned men, one of whom was called Mullāh Imaduddīn and the other Mullāh Jalāluddīn, denying the propriety of the practice of singing and dancing, tried to induce the Sultan to forbid the Kāzī from indulging in such practices

The Sultān sent for the Kāzī, and with all honour and respect asked him to take a seat Those two men asked him whether singing and dancing were lawful or not The Kāzī replied, they were unlawful for men, who were entirely rationalistic, and lawful for men of

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[1] The meaning of the passage is not clear The reading also varies The lith ed has در دل رهیب دود, two of the MSS have در مید دل رقدب دود, while the third has درد دل رهته دود

[2] In the lith ed and in all the MSS this passages given as سر شمع میکردمت "held the head of the candle," which is unintelligible I have ventured to alter the reading It will be seen that when Kāzī Hamiduddīn reminds the Sulṭān of what he did in the olden days, he says according to the lith. ed برسمع میکر ستید though the MSS here also say در شمع میکردید

spiritual emotion After that, turning his face towards the Sulṭān, he said, 'It would be in the auspicious recollection of your Majesty, that one night Darweshes and men of emotional experience were engaged in spiritual exercises, and you in accordance within your master's order, served the people in the meeting and wept in the exaltation of your feelings The Darweshes cast a glance on you, and you have reached your present high rank on account of that auspicious glance The Sulṭān recollected the circumstances, and he wept and made the Kāzī sit down by his side and granted him many favours After this he used to enjoy emotional exercises, and had great faith in the benefits (conferred by) Darweshes

The Sulṭān[1] was very strict in the performance of religious duties and services On Fridays he went to the mosque and strictly performed all prescribed and spontaneous duties The Mulāhids (schismatics) of Dehli were angry at this They conspired together, and determined to slay the king at the time of the public prayers, when the people would be engaged with their own devotions They met together, and on a Friday they went armed into the mosque, and drawing their swords martyred some men The great and holy God protected the Sulṭān from the wicked designs of these men, and the ordinary people, mounting the roofs of houses, and climbing on walls, cast the band on the dust of destruction, with wounds caused by stones and arrows, and freed the earth from the shame of their existence

Couplet

The wicked to his wickedness doth e'er incline,
Like the scorpion which rarely into the house does go [2]

Towards the close of his life, Fakhr-ul-mulk 'Usāmi, the Vazīr of Baghdād, who had been employed there for thirty years in the position of Vazīr, and was famous and noted for his visible and mental greatness and perfection, owing to some worldly reason, which often

[1] Minhajuddīn has not mentioned this attack of the Mulāhid on the Sulṭān, although he has given an account of a similar attack by them on the congregation in the great Masjid in the year 634 A H

[2] The similarity between the behaviour of the wicked and that of the scorpion is not very clear.

becomes the cause of the sorrow and mental disquietude of great men, left his own country, and came to Dehli The Sultān felt honoured at his coming, brought him into the city with all courtesy and reverence, conferred the office of Vazīr on him, and showed him every mark of royal favour.

The period of the rule of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh was twenty-six years

SULTĀN RUKNUDDĪN FIROZ SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMSUDDĪN

In the year 625 A H,[1] his father conferred Parganah Badāūn on him, and gave him a canopy and a *durbash* or two-horned baton After that when the Sultān came to Dehli, after the conquest of Gwālior, he placed the territory of Lahore under his charge When the Sultān in his last journey returned from Siwāstān,[2] he brought Ruknuddīn Firoz Shāh with himself from Lahore, and on his death the nobles and the great officers of State placed Firoz Shāh on the throne at Dehli on Tuesday (the 21st Sha'bān),[3] in the year 633 A H The usual practice of making gifts and scattering money in respect of the high and the low was carried out Poets wrote triumphant odes in praise and congratulation, and were rewarded with gifts and benefactions Among them Malik Tājuddīn Reza, the Imperial Secretary, presented a long ode and was honoured with gifts and rewards Two couplets from it are quoted here by way of memento

> May the perpetual empire be of omen good,
> To the king, specially in his time of youth,
> Yamīn-ud-dowlah Ruknuddīn who has come[4]

When he sat on the throne, the lust of enjoyment and pleasure kept him back from the work of government Opening the doors of the treasury he squandered and gave away the treasure The rule

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[1] The Ṭabakāt-i-Nāsiri and the early histories all give this date but Ferishtah has 626 A H He is, however, no authority (see note 5 p 631 of the Ṭab-i-Nās. trans).

[2] The Ṭabakāt-i-Nāsirī (p 631 of the trans) says "from the river Sind and Banīān " See note 2, p 69 (ante)

[3] The date and the month are taken from the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī Ferishtah who copies the Ṭab-i-Akb has no date on month also

[4] The meaning of the last line دوش از دمی چون کی دمائی is not clear

of Hindustān passed into the hands of his mother, who was a Turkish slave-girl and was known as Shāh Turkān As she acquired great power and influence, she caused much trouble to the other ladies of the *haram*[1] of whom she had been jealous during the lifetime of the late Sulṭān She had a younger son of the latter, who bore the name of Kuṭbuddīn,[2] put to death, and emptied the treasury The majority of Ruknuddīn's gifts were to dancing girls, and to people of the baser sorts, buffoons, and jesters

The hearts of small and great, high and low turned from him; and Malik Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad Shāh, who was his younger brother, and had the government of the territory of Audh in his hands, turned his head from the rule of allegiance Malik 'Izzuddīn Kabir Khān, the Governor of Multān, and Malik Saifuddīn Kuji, that of Hānsī, sent letters to each other and raised the standard of hostility Sultān Ruknuddīn moved out of Dehli with a large army with the intention of destroying these and encamped at Kilukhari[3] In the meantime Nizām-ul-mulk Muhammad Junaidi who was the Vazīr of the empire, out of excess of fear and dread fled from Kilukhari and went to the town of Kol and joined Malik 'Izzuddīn Sālārī[4]

Sulṭān Ruknuddīn considered the suppression of the disturbances which had occurred in the Punjāb[5] of the greatest importance, and turned his face towards Kuhrām When he reached the neighbourhood of Mansurpūr and Tarāin, the following among the nobles who

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[1] The author of the Ṭab-i-Nās incorrectly says that she had experienced envy and jealousy from some of the other ladies of the *haram* As our author says, she had been jealous of them, and as soon as she obtained an opportunity, she had some of them put to death with much degradation, and treated others with great ignominy (see Ṭab-i-Nās trans p 632, and note 5)

[2] He was the youngest of Shamsuddīn Altamsh's sons, quite a child, by a concubine According to the Ṭab-i-Nās he was deprived of the sight of both eyes and afterwards put to death (Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 633, and note 6)

[3] This was only a suburb of Dehli or one of the many new cities as they were called It has been stated by some writers that it was founded in 686 A H by Sulṭān Mu'izzudīn Kai-kubād, but this is not correct It was founded at a much earlier date (see note 2, p 634, Ṭab-i-Nās trans)

[4] He was the feudatory of Badāūn

[5] Our author has mentioned the feudatories of Multān and Hānsī among those who revolted, but the feudatory of Lahore, Malik 'Alāuddīn Jānī, was also in revolt

accompanied him, viz Tāj-ul-mulk Muhammad[1] the Dabīr (Secretary) and Bahāuddīn Husen, and Malik Karimuddīn Zāhid (the Saint) and Zia-ul-mulk Sarwāni, and Khwājah Rashīd, and Amīr Fakhruddīn detached themselves from the army and returned to Dehli[2] They swore allegiance to Sulṭān Razia who was the eldest daughter of Sulṭān Shamsuddīn, and placed her on the imperial throne. They seized Shāh Turkān, the mother of Sulṭān Ruknuddīn, and put her in prison The Sulṭān Razia was possessed of charming attributes, such as courage, and liberality, and wisdom, and discernment, and was gifted with manly qualities Her father had looked after her with great care, and in his lifetime she had been initiated into matters of State and had been vested with certain powers

When the news reached Sulṭān Ruknuddīn, he returned towards Dehli and reached Kilukhari Sulṭān Razia sent an army forward to encounter him, and he was seized and brought to Dehli and imprisoned, and in a short time after that, in that prison he died

The period of his rule was six months and twenty-eight days

SULṬĀN RAZIA[3]

In the year in which Sultān Shamsuddīn conquered the fortress of Gwālior, on account of the great intelligence and discernment which he found in Sulṭān Razia, he called together some of his nobles; and gave directions about her being made his heir. They ventured to represent to him, that it was scarcely judicious to make a girl the heir to his throne, when he had able and intelligent sons The Sulṭān said, 'I see my sons indulging in drinking and gaming, and various

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[1] The Ṭab-i-Nās calls him Taj-ul-mulk Mahmūd

[2] According to the Ṭabakat-i-Nāsiri (trans, p 635) these men did not return to Dehli, but they and a number of other Tajz'ik officials were martyred or slain, by the Turk Amīrs and the slaves of the household The authority of the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsiri is greater than that of the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbari, and must be accepted, but both Firishtah and Badāūni have followed the latter According to the Ṭab-i-Nās it was the breaking out of open hostility between his mother and Sulṭān Razia, which necessitated Sulṭān Ruknuddīn's return to Dehli The people of the city took the side of Razia, attacked the royal Kasr (castle) and seized Shāh Turkān.

[3] Major Raverty calls her Raziyyat Of course, grammatically he is correct, but she has so long been called Razia that I have called her by that name

unlawful and immoral habits I don't think that their arms will be able to support the burden of empire Razia, although she is in appearance a woman, yet in her mental qualities she is a man and in truth she is better than (my) sons '

In short, when Sulṭān Razia in the year 635 A H sat on the imperial throne, she again enforced the rules and principles which had been in vogue during the time of her father, but which had become meaningless and obsolete in the days of Ruknuddīn's rule; and she followed the path of justice and generosity

Nizām-ul-mulk Muhammad Junaidi who had been the imperial Vazīr, and Maliks Jānī and Kujī and Malik 'Izzuddīn Ayāz who had come together from different directions to the court of Razia, showing ingratitude for her favours, assumed a hostile attitude, and they wrote letters to the nobles in the various provinces, and instigated them to do the same In this state of things, Malik 'Izzuddīn Hānsī,[1] Jagirdar of Audh, came towards Dehli with the intention of aiding Sulṭān Razia When he crossed the Ganges, the hostile nobles, who have been already mentioned, advanced and seized him, and he, owing to an illness that seized him, died at this time After this, within a short time, Sulṭān Razia by her able dispositions and vigorous plans[2] disunited the worthless nobles and threw them into perplexity, and each one fled in a different direction Sultān Razia directed that the fugitives might be pursued Malik Kujī and his brother were seized and put to death Malik Jānī was killed in the province of Pāyal,[3] and his head was brought to Dehli Malik Nizām-ul-Mulk went away among the Sarmur hills, and died there

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[1] He is called Malik Nusrat (Nasrat)-uddīn Tayasa'ī the Mu'izzi in p 639 of the Ṭab-i-Nās , and Major Raverty says in note 7, in the same page, that he was made feudatory of the province of Audh, by Sulṭān Razia, after the revolt of Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad Shāh, younger son of Shamsuddīn Altamsh, in the reign of Ruknuddīn

[2] Major Raverty apparently objects to this statement (see note 2, p 640 of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans) but I see nothing wrong in it It is clear from the Ṭab-i-Nās that the hostile Amirs became disunited, and it is quite possible, and indeed probable, that this disunion was brought about by Sulṭān Razia's able management

[3] The name is given as Babal, Babul, and Babool by Elliot and Briggs and in the text of Ferishtah It is given as *Babal* in the lith ed , in MS A it is given as Payel, and in MSS B and C as Bayel and Mayel Raverty (note 3, p 640, Ṭab-i-Nās trans)

When the power of Sulṭān Razia became greater, and her rule acquired form and system, the post of Vazīr was conferred on K͟hwājah Muhazzab, who had been the deputy of Nizām-ul-Mulk Junaidi, and he received the title of Nizām-ul-mulk. The command (deputyship) of the army was placed in the charge of Malik Saifuddīn Aibak and the title of Kutlagh K͟hān was conferred on him The province of Lahore was granted to Malik Kabīr K͟hān Ayāz, and the territories of Lakhnauti, Dival, Darband, and the various towns and provinces were each made over to a noble At this very time Saifuddīn Aibak died, and in his place Kutbuddīn Hasan[1] was appointed, and he was sent with a large force against the fort of Rantambor He relieved and brought out the Musalmāns who were in the fort, and whom the Hindus had besieged after the death of Sultān S͟hamsuddīn, but took no steps to hold the place After he had gone away towards Rantambor, Malik Ikhtiaruddīn Aitkin became the Lord Chamberlain[2] and Jamāuddīn Tākut, the Abyssinian, who had been the lord of the stables, attained to a high position in the service of Sultān Razia, and became the subject of the jealousy of the nobles He attained to such a pitch of intimacy (with the queen) that when Sultān Razia mounted, he placed his hands under her arms and placed her on the animal she rode[3] Sultān Razia came out of the Pardah and wore the dress of a man

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says Pāyal or Pāyil is the name of a very old place, giving name to the district, on one of the routes from Dehli to Lūdiānah

[1] He is called indiscriminately Hasan and Husen, but according to Major Raverty the latter is the correct name He was the son of 'Ali G͟huri, and was forced to leave G͟hūr through the power of the Mughals

[2] Ferishtah, following our author, has turned him into an Amīr-ul-Umrā As Major Raverty has pointed out, this title existed from Akbar's time downwards, but was not known in the time of Sulṭān Razia Ziauddīn Junaidi was, however, given the title of Malik-ul-Umrā

[3] There has been some controversy as to the actual relationship between Sulṭān Razia and the lord of the stables There is nothing about any help being given, by the Amīr Akhur to the Queen to mount, in the Ṭabāķāt-i-Nās but what is stated in the Ṭabākāt-i-Akbari and following it, in Ferishtah and Badāūnī (the last saying that when she mounted an elephant or horse, she leant upon Jamāluddīn Yākūt), would very likely give rise to an idea of undue familiarity In any case this would give a sufficient excuse to the Turk Maliks to rebel against a sovereign who was sufficiently energetic to enforce her orders

She put on the *Kabā* (coat) on her person and the *Kulah* (high cap) on her head, and sat on the throne, and granted public audience

In the year 637 A H, Malik 'Izzuddīn Ayāz who was the Governor of Lahore turned aside from the path of allegiance, and laid the foundation of hostility Sulṭān Razia marched against him, and he behaved with sincerity and became one of her adherents Sulṭān Razia made over the province of Multān, which had been in the charge of Malik Karā Kāsh, also to Malik 'Izzuddīn, and returned. The same year she marched with a large army towards Tabarhindah On the way the Turki nobles attacked her and slew Jamāluddīn Yākūt who had been made the Amīr-ul-Umrā They imprisoned Sulṭān Razia in the fort of Tabarhindah They also placed Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shamsuddīn, on the throne and took possession of Dehli At this time Malik Ikhtiaruddīn Altūnia who was the governor of Tabarhindah married Sulṭān Razia by the *nikāh* ceremony[1] and Razia came towards Dehli with the army of Altūnia, after having in a short time collected a body of Khokhars and Jāts and all the Zamindars of those parts and having also gained over some of the nobles to her side Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh sent Malik Tigīn, the younger, with a large army against her. The two armies met in battle, Sulṭān Razia was defeated, and went back to Tabarhindah After a time, she collected her scattered forces, and making fresh preparations and collecting a new supply of munitions of war, she raised the standard of determination, and marched towards Dehli Sulṭān [Mu'izzuddin] Bahrām Shāh again sent Malik Tigīn, the younger, with a large army against Razia to fight with and destroy her The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Kaithal Again Razia was defeated, and she and Altūnia fell into the hands of the Zamindars and were slain, and according to another version they were seized and brought before Bahrām Shāh, and he ordered them to be slain. This happened on the 25th Rabi'-ul-awwal 637 A H [2]

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[1] The Tazkarat-ul-mūlūk and some other works say that Malik Ikhtiaruddīn Altūnia forced Razia into the marriage, on the other hand Elphinstone says, apparently without any authority, that Razia so far gained over Altūnia by the influence of love or ambition that he agreed to marry her The truth appears to be that both Razia and Altūnia thought that a union between them would further the interests of both

[2] The account given above varies in some most material particulars from that given in the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī, which being a contemporary record must be held to

The period of Sultān Razia's rule extended to three years and six months and six days.

Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh, son of Sultān Shamsuddīn

On Monday, the 28th Ramzān 637 A H, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh ascended the imperial throne, with the consent of the Nobles and Amīrs and Maliks As Malik Ikhtiaruddīn,[1] in consultation with the Vazīr of the dominions, Nizām-ul-mulk, Muhazzabuddīn, took up the control of the entire government of the realm into his hands, and married the sister of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, who had formerly been the *nikāh* wife of Kāzī Ikhtiaruddīn, in the *nikāh* form, and always kept a large elephant tied at his gate, when at that period none but the Sultān could keep one These matters produced grave suspicions in the mind of the Sultān The latter ordered certain desperate men (Fidā-īs[2]) and they martyred Malik Ikhtiaruddīn with their knives They also inflicted two wounds on the side of Malik Muhazzabuddīn, but he escaped with his life

After this Malik Badruddīn Sunkar Rumi became the Amīr Hājib (Lord Chamberlain) He carried on all affairs of State according to the ancient laws and customs It so happened, however, that Malik Badruddīn Sunkar, at the instigation of a band of turbulent people, conspired with the judges, and other high officers of State, to bring about a revolution On Monday, the 17th[3] Safar, all the notables

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have a higher authority According to the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh himself led the army against Sultān Razia, and Malik Ikhtiaruddīn Altūnia, and the latter were routed, and when they reached Kaithal, the troops who were with them abandoned them, and Sultān Razia and Malik Altūnia fell into the hands of the Hindus, and attained martyrdom It appears also that the defeat took place on the 24th Rabi'-ul-awwal, and Sultān Razia and Malik Altūnia were slain on the 25th Rabi'-ul-awwal 638 A H

[1] This was Malik Ikhtiaruddīn Aitkīn, who on account of Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh's youth was appointed deputy or regent for one year, see p 649, Tab-i-Nās (trans)

[2] Fidā means a sacrifice A Fidā-i is one who is ready to sacrifice himself in order to carry out the task assigned to him The agents of the chief of the assassins were so named

[3] The lith ed and MS A have 17th, MS B has 7th, and MS C هفدهم which

met together in the house of the Sadr-ul-mulk (the chief judge), Tājuddīn, who was the Secretary of the kingdom, and discussed about a change in the empire They sent the Sadr-ul-mulk to summon the Nizam-ul-mulk, so that he may also participate in the consultation. Presently the Sadr-ul-mulk[1] gave intimation of the matter to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn He also kept a man, in whom the Sultān had confidence, concealed in a corner,[2] and going himself to Nizam-ul-mulk, informed him of the meeting in which Kāzī Jalāluddīn Kāshānī,[3] Kāzī Kabiruddīn, Sheikh Muhammad Sāoji[4] and others were present Nizām-ul-mulk, making an excuse, delayed his going to another time The Sadr-ul-mulk represented the facts to the Sultān, through the man whom he had kept concealed The Sultān immediately came to the place of the meeting, dispersed the men who were there, sent Malik Badruddīn Sunkar towards Badāūn, and removed Kāzī Jalāluddīn Kāshānī from his appointment, and after a time when Malik Badruddīn came to the court from Badāūn, the Sultān ordered him and Malik Tājuddīn Mūsī[5] to be executed. He also ordered Kāzī Shamsuddīn, kāzī of the town of Bārharah,[6] to be thrown under the feet of an elephant This became the cause of great fear and alarm to the people

may also be taken as a mistake for 17th The date is, however, given as the 18th in a translation of the passage in note 5 p 653, of the trans of the Ṭab-i-Nās, although the 17th is the date in the text of the Ṭab-i-Nās itself, see p 652 trans

[1] This is evidently a mistake In the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsiri (p 653 of the trans it is the Nizam-ul-mulk who sent intimation of the conspiracy to the Sultān It is not likely that the Sadr-ul-mulk would give information to the Sultān, when the conspiracy was being hatched in his own house Ferishtah has of course copied the Ṭab-i-Akb, mistake and all

[2] This also is a mistake According to the Ṭab-i-Nās, the Vazīr had a favourite and confidant of the Sultān near him, when the chief judge arrived, and he concealed him, and sent him to the Sultān, as soon as the chief judge had gone away

[3] The lith ed and MSS B and C have Kāshānī, MS A has Kāshiānī The Ṭab-i-Nās says Kāsāni Kāsān is the name of a village near Samarkand and Kāshān is a city in Irāk

[4] The lith ed and two of the MSS have Sāoji and the third MS Sāochi In the Ṭab-i-Nas the man is called Sheikh Muhammad-i-Shāmī (the Syrian)

[5] He was so called in the lith ed and in all the MSS In the Ṭab-i-Nāsiri he is called Tājuddīn 'Ali Masawi

[6] The name of the town is given as Mahahrah in the lith ed and Barharah

In the midst of these things, on Monday, the 16th Jamādi-ul-Ākhar 639 A H. the Mughal armies of Chengiz Khān came and invaded Lahore Malik Karā Kash, who was the Governor of Lahore, found that the people of the city would not help him He came out of the city in the middle of the night and started towards Dehli The city of Lahore was ruined and desolated by the cruelties of the followers of Chengiz Khān, and an immense number of people were made prisoners When this news reached the Sulṭān, he collected the nobles in the White Castle, and made them swear allegiance to him anew, and sent Malik Nizām-ul-mulk, the Vazir of the empire, with other nobles towards Lahore to check the havoc caused by the Mughals [1] When the army reached the river Beāh near the town of Sultānpur, the Nizām-ul-mulk, who was at heart hostile to the Sultān, turned the hearts of the nobles from him, and laying the foundation of deceit and treachery, sent a representation to the Sulṭān, to the effect that nothing could be expected from the body of treacherous men, who had been sent with him, and that the disturbance would not be quelled, unless the Sultān should himself march to that part of the country The Sulṭān, out of his simplicity and the confidence which he reposed in him, wrote in reply, that those persons deserved to be executed, and otherwise punished, and at the right moment they would get their deserts, but that he should, for a few days, temporize with them Nizām-ul-mulk showed the farmān to the nobles, and made them all join him

When the Sulṭān became aware of these things, he sent His Reverence the Sheikh-ul-Islām Sheikh Kutbuddīn Bakhtiār Ushi,[2] in

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or Marharah in the MSS In the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsiri, see p 657 of the trans , the place is called Mihir Kāzi Shamsuddin of Mihir was thrown before the feet of an elephant according to the Ṭab-i-Nās also, but this was not because he was in any way connected with the plot, but at the instance of a darwesh whom the Kāzī had persecuted, and who had now gained in ascendancy over the Sulṭān

[1] It appears that the army which was sent to repel the Mughals, or to relieve Lahore, or to guard the frontier (all these objects were mentioned), was under the command of Malik Kuṭbuddīn Husein, the son of Ali the Ghūrī, and the Vazīr only accompanied it in a civil capacity

[2] Here again our author has fallen into an error According to the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī, it was the Sheikh-ul-Islām Sayyad Kuṭbuddīn that was sent to the army Khwājah Kuṭbuddīn Bakhtiar Ushi, who was venerated as a saint, and after whom the Kutb Minārah at Dehli is named, died six years previous to this time It appears

order to reassure the nobles, but they could not in any way be satisfied The Sheikh returned to Dehli After that Nizām-ul-mulk and all the nobles came to Dehli in order to destroy Sultān Mu'izzuddīn They besieged him, and every day conflicts took place

As the citizens were at one with the nobles, on Saturday the 8th of Zi-Kādah of that year they seized the city,[1] and after keeping Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn, under imprisonment for a few days, had him executed

The period of his reign was two years and one month and fifteen days

SULTĀN 'ALĀUDDĪN MAS'ŪD SHĀH

When Sultān Bahrām Shāh was put to death, Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban sat on the throne[2] at Dehli, and issued a proclamation in the city The Amīrs and Maliks did not approve of this, and presently they brought out Sultān Nāsiruddīn and Sultān Jalāluddīn, sons of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh, and Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Mas'ūd Shāh, son of Sultān Ruknuddīn, who were under imprisonment in the White Castle, and they placed Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Mas'ūd Shāh on the throne, in Delhi, in the month of Zi-Kādah 639 A H Malik Kutbuddīn Hasan was honoured with the dignity of the Naib or deputy of the

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also that the Sheikh-ul-Islām, instead of using to allay the sedition used his endeavours in stirring it up, and in augmenting it See Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 658-9 and note 2, p 658

[1] The fighting round and in the city went on from the 19th Sha'bān to the 8th of Zikādah, about seventy-seven days, and during this time according to the Tab-i-Nās, great numbers of people perished, and others were disabled, and all the environs of the city were destroyed It appears that the disturbances were prolonged, because the Sultān was under the influence of a head Farash who used to be styled Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh Farrukhi, and the latter would in no way assent to an accommodation We do not know the terms of the proposed accommodation, but as they in all probability meant either the imprisonment or the death of his patron, we cannot very well blame the head Farash See T N trans, p 659

[2] It is not quite clear whether he actually sat on the throne It is said in one place in the notes to the Tab-i-Nās that he proceeded to the royal Kasr and issued a proclamation, intimating his assumption of the sovereignty In the text, however (p 661 of the trans), it appears that he *assumed the throne* within the royal residence

empire, and Muhazzabuddīn Nizām-ul-mulk with that of the Vazīr. Malik Karā Kash became the Lord Chamberlain As Malik Nizām-ul-mulk wanted to take the bride of the empire in his arms without participation by any one else,[1] the Amīrs and the great men of the age combined together and put him to death, on Wednesday the 2nd Jamādi-ul-Awwal 640 A H

Couplet

One should not be proud of his greatness like a flower,
For a strong flood soon carries away the embankment [2]

The post of Vazīr was conferred on the Sadar-ul-mulk Najm-ud-dīn Abu Bakr, and Ghiāsuddīn Balban,[3] who at that time had the title of Ulugh Khān, became the Lord Chamberlain, Nagore, Sind and Ajmir were entrusted to Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban the elder, the parganah of Badāūn was placed in charge of Malik Tājuddīn, and all the parganahs in the empire were distributed among the Amīrs according to their circumstances, and the affairs of the kingdom were put in order, and the people became contented and happy

At this time, Malik 'Izzuddīn Tughā Khān,[4] who went towards

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[1] This is a figurative way of saying that he wished to usurp the whole power According to the Tab-i-Nās trans, p 662, he appointed to the district of Kol as his own fief, he had previously established the naubat and stationed an elephant at the gate of his residence He also took all functions out of the hands of the Turk Amīrs It appears that he was put to death within the camp before the city of Dehli, in the plain of the Rani's reservoir

[2] The meaning of the couplet is not very clear, but I think the above is a correct translation

[3] There is a certain amount of confusion as to the two Balbans in the Tabākat-i-Akbari, and consequently in Ferishtah, who copies it almost verbatim The fief of Nagore was conferred on Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Kashlu Khān together with permission to have an elephant to indicate that he belonged to the royal family He was either the son-in-law or brother-in-law of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh It was also he who had attempted to make himself the king Nagore, Mandwar and Ajmīr were afterwards conferred on him The other Balban was Ghiāsuddīn Balban-i-Khurd, who afterwards became Ulugh Khān

[4] His full name according to the Tab-i-Nās, was 'Izzuddīn Tughril-i-Tughān Khān Kāzī Jalāluddīn was the Kāzi and not the Hākim of Audh, otherwise the account given in the Tab-i-Akb is correct Ferishtah, however, changed Asha'ri into Sankuri

Lakhnauti, his own territory, sent the Sharf-ul-mulk, the Asha'ri, to Sultān 'Alāuddīn The Sultān sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour towards Lakhnauti for 'Izzuddīn Tug̲h̲ān K̲h̲ān, by the hand of Kāzi Jalāluddīn, the ruler of Audh He also released both his uncles from prison, and placed the territory of Kanouj in charge of Malik Jalāluddīn, and that of Bahraich[1] with its dependencies in that of Malik Nāsiruddīn, and they left marks of their beneficence on the face of time in those territories

In the year 642 A H the Mughal armies[2] came into the territory of Lakhnauti It is surmised that they came by the route by which Muhammad Bakhtiyar had marched towards Tibbat and K̲h̲itā. Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn sent Taimur K̲h̲ān and Karā Beg[3] to Lakhnauti with a large army to aid 'Izzuddīn Tug̲h̲ān After the Mughals had been defeated, and had gone away, hostilities arose between 'Izzuddīn Tug̲h̲ān and Malik Karā Beg The Sulṭān conferred Lakhnauti

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[1] Major Raverty calls this Bharāij The name is distinctly Bahraich in the lith ed and in one of the MSS It may be Bharanj or Bharaij in the other MSS Malik Nāsiruddīn was then only fifteen years of age, and the other was still younger

[2] This is a ridiculous error, as Major Raverty calls it It has been copied by Badāūni and Ferishtah and from the latter by his English translators, and from them by English writers generally, including those of Handbooks and Manuals The author of the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsiri was at the time staying in the Lakhnauti territory, and neither he nor the authors of the Ta'rikh-i-Mubārak S̲h̲āhi, the Rauzat-us-Safā and the Zubda-ut-Tawarikh mention any invasion of the Lakhnauti country by the Mughals What Minhaj wrote was لکهنوتی آمدند کفار جاجنگر بدر Some careless copyist changed جاجنگر into چنگیز خان and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad used the incorrect copy in compiling his history, and other writers copied him See p 663, and note 8, in the same page of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans The invaders were not the Mughals, but the Hindus from Jājnagar (or Tippera) which must not be confounded with Jājpur in Orissa

[3] There is apparently some confusion in these names According to the Ṭabāḳāt-i-Nāsirī (trans, p 666) the reinforcements were sent under one Malik, who was named Malik Kamaruddīn Kirān-i-Tamur K̲h̲ān. Thomas (Pathan Kings, p 121) calls him Tamal K̲h̲ān There is no Malik of the name of Kara Beg in sec xxii of the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsiri which is about the S̲h̲amsiah Malik It would appear, therefore, that Nizāmuddīn Ahmad made two men out of Kamaruddīn Kirān-i-Tamur K̲h̲ān and called them Taimur K̲h̲ān and Karā Beg Major Raverty is, however, wrong when he says (note 9, p 666) that "the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī" turns Malik Kamaruddīn Kirān Tamur K̲h̲ān "into 'Izzuddīn Tug̲h̲ān Timār K̲h̲ān Karā Beg and makes him quarrel with himself," etc

on Taimur Khān, and Tughān Khān came to Delhi in the service of the Sultān At this time news came that the Mughal armies had reached the neighbourhood of Uchch The Sultān called his nobles and with great promptitude started towards Uchch When he reached the bank of the river Biāh, the Mughal armies, who were besieging Uchch, turned their faces, and fled The Sultān returned to Dehli, crowned with triumph and victory

After this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn turned away from the path of justice and righteousness, and took to the practice of malevolence [1] Owing to this, all the nobles and great men turned from him, and combining together, wrote letters to Sultān Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, the son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, who at the time was in Bahraich, and summoned him When Sultān Nāsiruddin Mahmūd reached Dehli, Sultān 'Alāuddīn Mas'ūd Shāh was seized and imprisoned in the year 644 A H [2], and while under imprisonment he died

The period of his reign was four years, one month and one day

Sultān Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd

[He was] the youngest son of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh and a just and God-fearing king, and of a holy and humble disposition He befriended learned and pious men, and cherished the wise and the great His praiseworthy and beneficent qualities are clearly shown in the Tabākāt-i-Nāsirī, which was compiled in his name He ascended the imperial throne in the year 644 A H [3] The Amirs and Maliks of the period rendered homage to him, and gifts and presentations were made, to the small and the great Poets wrote triumphal odes, and

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[1] Nizāmuddīn Ahmad has not attempted to explain this sudden change in the character of the Sultān The author of the Tabākāt-i-Nāsirī (see trans, p 668) says he came under the influence of a number of very worthless persons in the army, and he became addicted to the practice of seizing and killing his Maliks He also became addicted to sensuality, pleasure, drinking and the chase to excess Thomas says that camp life and military associations had a bad effect on the Sultān's morals, and he took to evil courses and uncontrolled cruelties The deposition of 'Alāuddīn Mas'ūd Shāh appears to have been effected with very little bloodshed For the way in which Nāsiruddin was smuggled from Bahraich into Dehli, see Tab-i-Nās trans, p 677

[2] On the 23rd Muharram

[3] On the same day on which 'Alāuddīn Mas'ūd was imprisoned, i e the 23rd Muharram

were made happy with gifts and rewards Kāzi Minhāj wrote a long ode and presented it (to the Sultān), the following are a few couplets from it —

> That great lord who is a Hatim[1] in generosity and a Rustam[2] in energy,
> Is Nāsirudduniā-wa-dīn Mahmūd, the son of Altamsh
> That world-king ! from whose palace the roof of the sky,
> In elevation and grandeur, thou mayest say is lower ![3]
> The coin ! what pride doth it feel from his auspicious title !
> The prayer ! how glorified is it by his fortunate name !

The post of Vazīr was conferred on Malik Ghiāsuddīn Balban, who had been a slave, and also the son-in-law of his (the Sultān's) father[4] He was honoured with the title of Ulugh Khān, and a canopy and a durbash (or two-branched baton) were conferred on him, and the whole of the administration of the empire was entrusted to his mature judgment They say, that at the time of making over the charge of affairs to Ulugh Khān, (the Sultān) said, "I am making thee my deputy, and am delivering the control of the affairs of the empire into thy hands Do nothing for which in the presence of the Almighty thou mayest not be able to answer, and mayest make me and thyself abashed and ashamed" Malik Balban Ulugh Khān laid the foundations of the rules of the deputyship in such a way, that every thing connected with the government came under his direct

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[1] A man whose name has become proverbial as a pattern of generosity

[2] The great national hero of ancient Persia

[3] There are different readings of a part of the line and the meaning is not quite clear The lith ed has کوئي ورو دیں دوشش اسپ , MS A has که دوران فرس اسپ MS B کوئی که فر ودں اسپ and MS C کوئی که فردوسی وش اسپ

[4] According to Major Raverty this is incorrect According to him it was 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Kashlu Khān who, if either of the two Balbans were, was the son-in-law or brother-in-law (sister's husband) of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh Our author was of course wrong when he said in an earlier part, when describing the various appointments, after the death of Malik Nizām-ul-mulk Muhazzabuddīn, that Malik Ghiāsuddīn Balban had then the title of Ulugh Khān It appears that the title was not conferred on him, even at the accession of Sultān Nāsiruddīn It was conferred on him three years later, in 647 A H It appears also that the statement that a canopy and a durbāsh were granted to Ghiāsuddīn Balban by Sultān Nāsiruddīn at the very beginning of his reign is incorrect

control, and no one else had any power in the transaction of any affairs of the State

In the month of Rajab, in the year of his accession, Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn marched with his army towards Multān,[1] and on the 1st of the month of Zikādah, he crossed the river of Lahore (the Rāvī), and making Ulugh Khan the commander of the forces, sent him to the Jūd hills, and the districts of Nandanah, and himself stayed for ten days on the bank of the Sind[2] Ulugh Khān plundered and ravaged the Jūd hills, and all that country, and slew[3] the Khokar's and other turbulent people living there, and then returned to the presence of the Sultān The latter then on account of the want of fodder returned to Dehli[4]

On the 2nd Sha'ban in the year 645 A H the Sultān marched towards the Doab,[5] and that same year (on the) 10th Zikādah he set out towards Karah,[6] and there made Ulugh Khān the commander of the forces and the latter went forward and plundered and ravaged the places Dalki and Malki[7] and returned to the service of the Sultān

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[1] The lith ed as well as all the MSS read Multān, but all the MSS of the Ṭabīkāt-i-Nāsirī except two have Banīān which must have been at that time the name of the hilly tract west of the upper part of the Sind-Sāgar Doābah See notes 5 and 6, p 677, Ṭab-i-Nās trans

[2] So in the MSS and in the lith ed , but according to the Ṭab-i-Nās (trans , p 678, and note 1) it was on the bank of the Sūdharah or Sūdharā (a name of a part of the Chinab) that the Sultān encamped with the camp the followers, the heavy material and the elephants

[3] This plundering and ravaging and slaying do not indicate a very holy and humble disposition

[4] According to the Ṭabīkat-i-Nāsirī it was Ulugh Khān who had to return owing to the difficulty of obtaining subsistence and necessaries for his troops

[5] According to the Ṭab-i-Nās (trans , p 679) a very strong fort called Talsandah was first taken in the Kanauj country

[6] The expedition to Karah was probably rendered necessary owing to the feudatory of that place, Malik Ikhtiaruddīn Karā-Kush Khān-i-Aitkīn, having been killed in the preceding year It cannot, however, be ascertained by whom and how he was killed

[7] This phrase has been a puzzle In one place in the Ṭab-i-Nās (p 682 of the trans) it has been written with a و between Dalki and Malki, but in another place (p 817 of the trans) there is no و between these words The context would seem to

On the 6th of the month of Sha'ban of the year 646 A H the Sulṭān marched against Rantambor, and punished the contumacious people of that neighbourhood, and then returned to Dehli In the same year, Kāzī Imāduddīn Shafurkhani[1] was accused, and was dismissed from his office, and then through the exertions of 'Imāduddīn Raihān put to death

In the year 647 A H,[2] the Sultān espoused the daughter of Ulugh Khān, and in the following year (648 A H) he marched with his army in the direction of Multān and on the bank of the river Biah, Sher Khān joined the imperial army The Sultān on the 6th Rabi'ul-awwal of the same year reached Multān, and after a few days Malik 'Izzuddīn was allowed to go towards Uchch, while the Sultān himself returned to Dehli[3]

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show, that in the first place Dalki and Malki is intended to mean a tract of country, while in the second place Dalki Malki or as Major Raverty transliterates the words here, Dalaki of Malaki is a Rānah All that is definitely stated is that this Rānah's territory was in the vicinity of the River Jūn or Jamna, which is between Kālanjar and Karah, that he had numerous followers and much wealth, and that the country was extremely difficult, and it had never up to that time been reached by Musalmān troops A guess was hazarded that Dalki Malki was Trailokya Varma Deva, the 19th King of the Chandel dynasty, who reigned at Mahoba, Kālanjar, etc, but his accession took place in A D 1202 and he could not have been contemporaneous with Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd

[1] The name of the Kāzī is given in the Tab-i-Nās (p 685 of the trans) as Kāzī Jamaluddīn the Shafurghani In the Tab-i-Akbari the name of the man, through whose exertions he was put to death, has evidently been given to him by mistake It does not appear what he was accused of

[2] In the lith ed the year is put down as 640, and in two of the MSS as 648 A H, the correct date is 647 A H

[3] The transactions of the year 648 A H have been translated as they are given in the book, but they are all incorrect, and are due to a misreading of the corresponding passages in the Tabākāt-i-Nāsiri by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, who has of course been followed, as usual, by Firishtah and others In the Tabākāt-i-Nāsirī (trans, p 687), the author says that he went to Multān, and there, on the 11th Safar, he obtained an interview with Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, on the bank of the Biah, and then he proceeded towards Multān which he reached on the 6th Rabi'ul-awwal There he had an interview with Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Kashlu Khān Then the author started for Dehli and Malik 'Izzuddīn returned to Uchch The peregrinations of Maulānā Minhājuddīn have thus been converted into the expeditions of the Sulṭān

In the year 649 A.H. Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban, the feudatory of of Nagore, swerved from the path of allegiance and acted in a refractory manner. Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn set out towards Nagore, in order to quell the insurrection. Malik 'Izzuddīn being unable to withstand (him), begged for protection, and joined the imperial court. Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn then came to Delhi accompanied by triumph and victory. The same year he again set out with a large army, on the 5th Sha'ban,[1] towards Gwālior, Chanderi and Mālwah, and Jāhar Deo,[2] who was the Rājā of that territory, advanced to meet him, with five thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand infantry, but after a great battle, he was defeated, and the fort of Nirwar was taken by assault, and the Sultān returned to his capital with victory and renown. In this war many acts of great intrepidity and bravery were performed by Ulugh Khān Balban. After this, Sher Khān started from Multān, with the intention of taking Uchch, and Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban also went to Uchch from Nagore, and having surrendered the fort of Uchch to Sher Khān, went and joined the service of the Sultān, and the territory of Badāūn was assigned to him as his Jāgīr.[3]

Then, on the 22nd Shawwāl in the year 650 A.H., the Sultān set out for Uchch and Multān, by way of Lahore.[4] In the course of this expedition, Kutlugh Khān came to the Sultān from the territory

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[1] According to the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī (trans., p. 690) this expedition set out on Tuesday, the 25th Sha'ban.

[2] There is a long note about this Rājā's name (note 1, p. 690) in the translation of the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī. The name is given by different authors as Chāhar or Jāhar, Achar or Deo. Major Raverty says that the name is given as Achar Deo in the Tabākāt-i-Akbari but it is given as Jāhar Deo in the lith. ed. as well as in the three MSS. I have collated. Nirwar or Nurwar is situated about 40 miles to the west of Bhupāl. According to Tod it was founded by the Kachwāhāh Rājputs, and was the abode of Rāja Nala whose descendants continued to hold it, through all the vicissitudes of Tatar and Mughal dominion till it was taken by the Mahrattas.

[3] These events happened according to the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī, before the expedition to Gwālior, Chanderi and Mālwah and not after, see Ṭab-i-Nāsirī, trans., p. 689.

[4] Major Raverty surmises that the object of marching to Uchch and Multān by way of Lahore was to deprive Sher Khān, the kinsman of Ulugh Khān, of these places and that this was the first move of the Raihānī plot against Ulugh Khān.

of Sansawān,[1] and Kashlu Khān 'Izzuddīn from Badāūn with their troops, and accompanied him to the bank of the Biah In the year 651 A H [2] Ulugh Khān received permission to go towards Sewālik and Hānsī which formed his fief The post of Vazīr was entrusted to the 'Ain-ul-mulk Muhammad Junaidī, Malik 'Izzuddīn Kashlu Khān[3] became the Lord Chamberlain, and the fief of Karah was conferred on Aibak, who was the brother of the Khān-i-A'zam 'Imāduddīn Raihān became the Vakil-i-Darbār, and the Sultān came back to Dehli Again, in the early part of Shawwāl, of the same year, he set out from Dehli, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the river Biah Thence he sent forward his troops, and conquered Tabarhindah, Uchch and Multān, which had been in the possession of Sher Khān (but had been wrested from him when he was defeated by the people of Sind, and went away to Turkistān He placed them in charge of Arslān Khān[4] and then returned (to Dehli)

[1] This is a mistake for Bhiānah or Biānah Firishtah has of course, copied the mistake

[2] It appears from the Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 693, that towards the end of 650, 'Imāduddīn Raihān secretly subverted the mind of the Sultān and the Maliks towards (against ?) Ulugh Khan-i A'zam and accordingly at the beginning of the next year Ulugh Khān was sent away to his fief, and men belonging to the party opposed to him received the high appointments at the capital

[3] There is some confusion here According to the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī, see trans, p 694, it was Saifuddīn Aibak-i-Kashlī Khān who was the brother of Khān-i-A'zam and had been the Lord Chamberlain as well as the chief master of the ceremonies, that was given the fief of Karah and was sent there Apparently he has been divided into two, one part of him named 'Izzuddīn Kashli Khān has been made Lord Chamberlain, and the other half sent to Karah Major Raverty says that the same mistake has been committed in Elliot

[4] It would appear that Tabarhindahs, Uchch and Multān were in the possession of Malik Sher Khān's adherents and the Sultān took them from those people, and made them over to Malik Tājuddīn Arslān Khān-i-Sanjar, which are the full name and title of the person, who is called Arslān Khān in the text Under these circumstances Raverty thought that *conquering* or *subduing* would be rather too strong to express the meaning, though the expression used in both the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsirī and the Ṭabākat-i-Akbari is دفع نموده It is not quite clear by whom Malik Sher Khān was defeated In some copies of the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsiri he is said to have been defeated on the bank (كنار) of the Sind In other copies instead of كنار we have كفار, and the meaning is he was defeated by the infidels of Sind Nizāmuddīn

In the year 652 A.H., (the Sulṭān) marched with his troops into the regions of the foot hills of Bijnor and obtained much booty. He then crossed the Ganges at Mianpur, and marched along the skirts of the mountains as far as the river Rahab.[1] And at Baklahmānī, on Sunday, the 15th of the month of Safar in 652 A.H., Malik 'Izzuddīn Razi-ul-mulk, while in a state of intoxication,[2] was martyred by the Zamindars of those parts. The Sulṭān in order to avenge his murder, marched towards Kaithal and Kuhrām, and after punishing the turbulent people of the neighbourhood, went in the direction of Badāūn. He remained there for a few days, and then came to Dehli. He remained there for five months in pleasure and enjoyment. Intelligence was then received that some Amīrs, such as Arslān Khān, and But Khān Aibak Khitāī, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, had, in concert with Malik Jalāluddīn, commenced hostilities.

The Sultān set out from Dehli in the direction of Tabarhindah. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Hānsī, the Amīrs who have been mentioned also moved towards Kuhrām and Kaithal.[3] Here some people acted as intermediaries, and peace was established,

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Ahmad has changed كهار سدد for سددلن and he has as usual been followed by Ferishtah who in his turn has been followed by most later historians.

[1] Major Raverty says, that in the account of this expedition, the author of the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbari has shown great ignorance of geography, and has made a precious hash of two expeditions and made them into one. I do not think, however, that there were two expeditions. The author of the Ṭabakāt-i-Nāsirī certainly used the word expedition in the plural but as the Sultān left Dehli in the beginning of the year, and reached Badāūn on the 19th Safar, there could not have been two expeditions, in the time, which barely exceeded six weeks. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, however, was in error in writing Kaithal for Kathiher and also in inserting the name of Kuhrām.

[2] This is an absurd mistake. Malik 'Izzuddīn Razi-ul-mulk was a native of درمشی, or his family came from that place. The word Durmashi, however, was read by the author of the Tabakāt-i-Akbari, as درمستی "in a state of intoxication," and Ferishtah of course followed him.

[3] What actually happened is not quite clear, but it appears that there was a slight skirmish, and the greatest confusion arose in the Sultān's camp. After that the Sulṭān made a retrograde movement towards Hānsi, and Malik Jalāluddīn Masud Shāh his brother, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and other Maliks marched towards Kaithal. Then the negotiation commenced and a peace was patched up. See Tab-i-Nās trans. p. 697, and also p. 851.

and they (the refractory Amīrs) entered into engagements and took oath, and did service to the Sultān The Sulṭān made over the rule of the territory of Lahore to Malik Jalāluddin, and returned to Dehli

In the year 653 A H, the Sultān became annoyed with his mother, Malkah-i-Jahān, who had married[1] (after the death of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh) Kutlugh Khān, and the province of Audh being assigned to the latter, as his fief, he was permitted to start in that direction, in a short time, however, he was moved from there and sent to Bahraich He fled from there and went to Santur[2] Malik 'Izzuddīn Kashlu Khān and certain other Amīrs combined with him and laid the foundations of an insurrection The Sultān sent Ulugh Khān-i-Balban with a large army against them[3] When the two armies approached each other, a number of people in Dehli, such as the Sheikh-ul-Islām, Sayyad Kutbuddīn and Kāzī Shamsuddīn Bahraichi, invited Kutlugh Khān and Kashlu Khān to come to the

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[1] There was probably some secrecy about this marriage see note 9, p 701 of the Ṭab-i-Nās trans

[2] It appears from the Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 703 that Kutlugh Khān refused to leave the province of Audh, and Malik Bak Tamur was sent with a force to expel him The two forces met in the neighbourhood of Badāūn, and Malik Bak Tamur was killed Then the Sulṭān set out with his forces towards Audh Kutlugh Khān retired before him Then the Sulṭān moved towards some place called Kālair, and sent Ulugh Khān in pursuit of Kutlugh Khān After a while Ulugh Khān returned with great booty, and the Sulṭān and he went back to Dehli Kutlugh Khān then moved towards Karah and Mānikpur, but was defeated by the feudatory of that territory Then he went in the direction of Santur Ṭab-i-Nās trans, p 703 *et seq*

[3] Kutlugh Khān appears to have gone to Santur, *en route* to the Biāh and Lahore Here he was aided by the Hindu chieftains, but Ulugh Khān was sent there with an army After some fighting, however, he returned to Dehli, and then Kutlugh Khān was joined by 'Izzuddīn Kashlu Khān and others, after which Ulugh Khān was again sent with an army against them The rebel Amīrs then entered into correspondence with the disaffected nobles in the city, and attempted to surprise it by making a forced march Ulugh Khān, however, sent news of all this to the Sultān The latter then ordered the disaffected nobles to leave the capital, and to go away to their fiefs and arrangements were made to defend the capital, by appointing Amīrs, heads of families, and respectable persons to the ramparts Malik Badruddīn Sunkar Rumi, the feudatory of Bianah, also came to the capital with a body of his troops and helped to defend it

capital, and to seize it, and they also secretly invited the citizens to submit to them. Ulugh Khan-i-Balban became aware of this, represented the true state of things to the Sultān, and suggested that he should disperse the persons concerned. The Sulṭān issued the necessary orders, and the Amīrs belonging to the hostile party had to go away to their fiefs. When Kutlugh Khān and Malik Kashlu Khān came to Dehli from Sāmānah, having traversed a hundred *karoh* in two days, they did not find their partisans there. They also then dispersed. Ulugh Khān-i-Balban arrived immediately behind them, in the service of the Sulṭān.

At the end of this year the Mughal armies arrived in the neighbourhood of Uchch and Multān, and the Sulṭān marched to repel them, but they retired without fighting and the Sultān also returned.[1] He then sent Malik Jalāluddīn Jāni[2] on whom he conferred a robe of honour, towards Lakhnauti. In the year 657 A.H., two elephants and gems and much valuable cloth arrived from Lakhnauti. Malik 'Izzuddīn Kashlu Khān, who has been previously mentioned, died in the month of Rajab that same year.

They say that Sultān Nāsiruddīn wrote every year two copies of the Kurān,[3] and spent the money for which he sold them on his own food. Once, it so happened, that a copy of the Kurān, which had been written by the Sultān was bought by one of the Amīrs for a price higher (than what it was really worth). When the Sultān came to know of this, he was displeased, and ordered that thenceforward the Kurāns written by him should be sold secretly at the usual price. It has also been narrated that the Sulṭān had no attendant or maidservant except his wife, and the latter used to cook his food. One day she said to him that her hands always ached on account of

[1] The Sulṭān's arms did not march beyond sight of the capital. The Mughals ravaged the frontier districts and then withdrew.

[2] He is called elsewhere Jalāluddīn Kulich Khān son of Malik 'Alāuddīn Jāni. He was suspected of disaffection, but made his submission, and then the fief of Lakhnauti was conferred on him.

[3] Major Raverty disbelieves these anecdotes, and doubtless there is a great deal of exaggeration in them but the Sultān certainly led a simple and homely life, and he also undoubtedly copied the Kurān. Ibn Batuta, on his visit to Dehli, saw a specimen of his calligraphy. Thomas says, that his excellence in penmanship, possibly, had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coins.

her having to cook the bread It would be better if he would buy her a slave-girl, who would make the bread The Sultān said in reply· that the royal treasury belonged to the servants of God (the people), and not to him, that he could buy a maid-servant for her with (the money in) it If she would be patient, the great God would recompense her well for it in the life to come

Couplet

The world to the wakeful eye is a dream,
The wise on dreams do not set their hearts

In the year 663 A H the Sultān fell ill, and on the 11th Jāmā-di-ul-āwwal in the year 664 A H he left this world for the next He left no offspring His reign lasted for nineteen years and three months and a few days

Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Balban

When Sultān Nasiruddīn died, all the Amīrs and Maliks placed Ulugh Khān-i-Balban, who was called Balban-i-Khurd, on the imperial throne, in the White Kasr (castle), in the year 664 A H, and the allegiance of the nobility and the common people was bound up to his throne Sultān Ghiāsuddīn had been a slave of Sultān Shamsuddīn, of the body known as the forty slaves Sultān Shamsuddīn had forty Turkish slaves, every one of whom attained to the rank of an Amīr and the whole body of them was known as the Chehalgānī (the brotherhood or company of forty) Sultān Ghiāsuddīn was a king, wise, mature, of dignified mien, and possessed of great experience He acted in all cases intelligently and wisely

Couplets

What valuable asset is a knowledge of the world,
May the world be never lacking in it,
That man doth raise his head in the world,
Who in this world doth wisdom have

He never entrusted the affairs of the empire except to the wise and the great, and never allowed base and low people to interfere in them He never appointed any one to a post or entrusted any one with any business until the antecedents, integrity, goodness and piety

of the man were clearly established, and he took great pains in the verification of man's family history, and made careful enquiries about it If after he had appointed any one to a post, he had reason to suspect any defect in his personal character or qualifications, he at once removed him To the end of the reign, which extended to twenty-two years, he never held any converse with low people, and never allowed jesters and buffoons to enter his court

They say, that there was a notable man, of the name of Fakhr Amānī, who had served the Sulṭān for a number of years He went to one of the favourites of the Sultān, and begged him, and also offered to pay him a large sum of money, if he could induce the Sultān once to grant him an interview, in which he would make a large offering in cash and valuables When this was represented to the Sulṭān, he said that the man was an Amīr of the bazar, and if he should hold any conversation with him, the awe in the heart of the common people for the Sultān would disappear, and there would be a diminution in his greatness and grandeur All the attributes of the Sulṭān were praiseworthy, and in justice and righteousness, not one of the previous Sulṭāns could equal him It is narrated that Malik Bakbak, the chief of the bodyguard, struck a farash (servant employed in spreading carpets and arranging furniture) in his employ some strokes with a stick, and the man died under the blows The said Malik Bakbak was slain (by order of the Sulṭān), in retaliation for the offence, under the bastinado Haibat Khān, the father of Malik Kirān 'Alāī, who was a favoured slave of the Sultān, while in a state of intoxication, killed a man The heirs of the murdered man came to the Sultān and prayed for justice The Sultān ordered that Haibat Khān should receive five hundred strokes of a stick, and should moreover be delivered over to the widow of the murdered man People interceded with her, and settled that he should pay her fifty thousand tangāhs, and he was thus delivered from that woman Haibat Khān, never after this came out of his house, for shame, to the day of his death In the same way, some of the other Amīrs suffered, according to the law of retaliation, for the unjust deaths they had caused It did not make any difference to the Sulṭān that the murderer was an Amīr or a Malik, and the murdered man belonged to the vulgar or baser classes The Sultān used to attend the assemblies of pious men

and to listen to sermons, and used to weep with the exuberance of his feelings. He faithfully attended to all the behests, and the prohibitions, of religion The rules of empire and the laws of government, which had fallen into desuetude, and had become obsolete, in the days when the sons of Sultān Shamsuddīn ruled the country, received new confirmation and fresh stability, and such was the terror and dread inspired by the Sulṭān, that no one had the hardihood to stray from the path of obedience The Sultān also, carried out the rules of righteousness and justice in such a way, that the entire population of the country submitted to his orders, and accepted his decrees, with perfect zeal Most of the chieftains and nobles, who after the death of Sultān Shamsuddīn had, owing to the weakness of his sons, lifted up their heads with stiff-neckedness and obstinacy, became humble and submissive

Couplet

When justice lightens the candle of the world,
It teaches wolves to behave like lambs

He was very particular about the arrangements of dress, and the paraphernalia of regal grandeur, and splendour, at the time when he granted public or private audience In sitting down and rising he behaved with such grandeur and hauteur, and sternness, that the livers of the spectators melted with fear at the sight A trembling seized the hearts of the turbulent people, both near and remote, on account of the terror of his greatness He said repeatedly, that he had heard from elders, who were men of great consideration in the court of Sulṭān Shamsuddīn, that a king who did not maintain the rules and observances of empire, in the arrangement of his court, and in the splendour of his processions, and whose behaviour and sayings did not reveal the grandeur befitting a king, dread and awe for him would not find a way into the hearts of the enemies of his rule, or of the people of his empire, and many dangers would find a way in the affairs of his government He laid special stress in the arrangements of meetings, on beautiful carpets and utensils of gold and silver, and gold-embroidered curtains, and various delicious fruits and other articles of food and drink On festal days, he sat in the assembly till the end of the day, and till the presents of his Khāns and Amīrs had passed before

his eyes As the offering of each of the nobles was placed before him, the ushers of the meeting described the laudable attributes and the meritorious services of that particular noble In his festal assemblages, songs were sung and poets recited laudatory odes, and were rewarded with gifts and benefactions They say that not one of his old servants, who had attended his private audiences, had ever seen him without his cap and socks and cloak He never laughed aloud in his assemblies, and others also did not laugh there He used to say that the dignity and the grandeur in the demeanour of a king inspired greater awe in the hearts of the people than the punishments inflicted by him, and the absence of a feeling of awe towards a king was the cause of insurrections and rebellion If such a king occupies the throne, before long many dangers will occur and tumults and revolts will take place, the rules of justice will become abrogated, and the flood-gates of tyranny and oppression opened wide Sultān Ghiāsuddīn observed the golden mean on all occasions and showed mercy as well as wrath, at the right time for for each He said repeatedly that a monarch who in his acts, and behavior adopts the practices of a tyrant, commits infidelity to God, and acts against the behests of the prophet (on whom be the blessing of God and peace!) and the punishment for such practices is nothing but suffering and ruin in the life to come Such conduct can never be atoned for, by a king except in four ways (1) that he reserves his power and authority for the proper occasions and keeps nothing before his eyes except the happiness of his people and the fear of God (2) that he does not allow cheating and other crimes to be committed in his kingdom, and completely shuts the door on such practices, and always keeps the wicked and the reckless under the dread of his punishment (3) that he entrusts all business and duties to the wise, meritorious, honest and God-fearing persons, and does not allow treacherous men to live in his dominions, as they produce confusion among the people and (4) that in the administration of justice, he practises righteousness to such an extent, that all vestiges of tyranny and oppression may disappear from his kingdom

Couplet

From justice doth stability spring,
The tyranny of kings is like a lamp in a draught

Whenever Sultān Balban arrived at a Sarāi, or a bridge, or a muddy or marshy place he waited there and deputed nobles and great officers of State, who with sticks in their hands directed the arrangements, and first they made the sick, the infirm, the women and the children, and the weak and thin quadrupeds to cross over without any trouble. He used to employ his elephants, and other animals, in helping to take the people across. He waited for a few days, in such places, till all the people should have crossed over with ease.

Although in the days in which he held the rank of a Khān, Sultān Balban was addicted to drinking, and to the holding of convivial meetings, to which he invited Amīrs and Maliks, and to gamblings, giving away his winnings to the attendants, and there were always in his assemblies witty and eloquent courtiers, and sweet-voiced singers, still after he had become the *bādshāh*, he never hankered after these things, and rooted out even the names of wine and wine-drinkers and all evil-doers throughout his kingdom. He practised the customary fasts, kept up at nights, attended regularly at the Friday prayers and those for the morning and the evening, and never neglected his ablutions. He never took his food except in the presence of learned and pious men and, while eating, discussed questions connected with religion and law with them. He went to the houses of holy men, and after his devotions, went on pilgrimage to the tombs (of the saints). He attended the funerals of great men, and went and condoled with the mourners. He conferred robes of honour on the sons and relations of men who died, and continued the stipends of such men to their heirs. Although he had so much power and grandeur, if even at the time when he was riding out he heard that there was a devotional assemblage at any place, where a sermon would be delivered, he instantly dismounted and went and heard the discourse, and wept (with the exuberance of his feelings).

The splendour of Kaikhusro sprang from this,
That with justice and with learning he the earth adorned.
On days of devotion, he only a blanket wore
With God he strove, with prayer and praise,
With his face on the ground, his heart like cauldron a-boil,
His heart so eloquent, and his tongue so mute.

Till you saw his heart, with the secret-seeing eye,
You would not know all the heights and all the depths

In spite of all these beneficent attributes of his, in the matter of insurgents and rebels, he acted with the greatest rigour and sternness, and did not deviate so much as a needle's point from the ways of a tyrant For the rebellion of one man he would overthrow a whole army, or a city He kept the peace of his empire before his eyes, above all things, and for this reason he made away with most of the Shamsi Maliks, who had been his companions, by various devices and pretexts When his power and greatness were firmly established, some of the Shamsī Amīrs represented to him, that as his power and grandeur had now become so great, it was right that he should lead his armies for the conquest of Gujrāt, Malwah and other provinces of Hindustān The Sultān said in reply, that in order to protect the country from the Mughals, who invaded it every year, he could not leave Dehli for the distant provinces, that a king should first of all make his own dominions perfectly secure, and then only try to conquer other countries, that it was one of the sayings of ancient monarchs, that it was better that one should secure and strengthen his own kingdom, than that he should stretch out his hand against those of others, and that a king who neglected even a single point, in ensuring the safety of his kingdom, became blameworthy before God

In the year of the Sultān's accession, i e in A H 664, Tatār Khān, son of Arslān Khān,[1] sent sixty-three elephants from Lakh-

[1] Arslān Khān (-i-Sanjar) invaded the territory of Lakhnauti, when he was the feudatory of Karah, in 657 A H The feudatory of Lakhnauti Malik 'Izzuddin Balban-i-Yūz Baki, had then proceeded towards the country of Bang and had left Lakhnauti empty (of troops) The inhabitants took refuge within the walls, and defended themselves, but after three days the city was taken, and plunder and sack and rapine was kept up for three days Malik 'Izzuddin Balban-i-Yūz Baki returned on hearing of this, and an engagement took place between him and Arslān Khān-i-Sanjar, and the latter gained the upper hand, and Malik 'Izzuddin Balban-i-Yūz Baki became a captive, and it is stated that he was martyred It would appear, that after this Arslān Khān became governor of Bengal, and he was succeeded by his son Tatār Khān, and the latter had been governor for some time when Balban ascended the throne See Tab-i-Nās trans , p 769 *et seq* It was that Tatār Khān who sent the elephants

nauti. (On account of this) the people erected domes in the city, and made rejoicings Sulṭān Balban sat in public audience, on the Nāsirī Chabutara (platform) outside the Badāūn gate, and the Amīrs, Maliks, Judges and other great officers all presented themselves, and offered tributes, and were honoured with gifts and rewards As Sultān Balban was very fond of hunting, he had passed an order that around the city for a distance of twenty *karohs*, game should be preserved The *Mīr shikars* (chief huntsmen) held a high rank in his service, and he had a large number of huntsmen in his employ. In the winter he mounted his horse every morning, and rode as far as the town of Rewārī, and even beyond that, and hunted and returned to the city after nightfall, but he never passed the night outside the city One thousand horsemen, every one of whom was known to the Sulṭān, and one thousand others of the class of Nayeks (sergeants) and archers, accompanied his stirrups by turn All of these received their food from the Sulṭān's table When Halākū Khān at Baghdād heard of the Sulṭān's habit of hunting, he said Balban was a sagacious king, outwardly he showed to the people that he went hunting, but really he took riding exercise, and gave his troops system and order, and always watched over his kingdom When Sulṭān Balban heard this, he was pleased, and praised Halākū's discernment, and said, that those only knew how to govern kingdoms who had conquered and ruled them

Owing to the negligence, and the weakness of the children of Shamsuddīn, manifest difficulties and dangers had found their way into all matters connected, with the government of the realm; and the orders passed and rules framed by them were honoured more in the breach than in the observance He destroyed with great vigour and sternness the bands of Mewātis who had settled round the city; and had, on account of the neighbourhood being much overgrown with jungle, laid the foundations of turbulence and disturbances, committed highway robberies, and at night entered the city, and broke into the houses, and carried away much property The roads from all directions were closed on accounts of these robberies, and merchants could not come and go, and even the gates of the capital towards Mecca (the west) had to be closed for fear of them, after the second prayers, so that no one could go on pilgrimage to the Saints' tombs after afternoon prayers Repeatedly the robbers came

to the vicinity of the Sulṭān's reservoir, and gave trouble to the water-carriers, and the slave-girls, who came to draw water. That same year the Sultān, considering that the extirpation of these robbers should be taken in hand, before everything else, had the jungle cut down and rooted up, and made a number of the robbers food for the sword. He built a strong fort at Kawalkar (Kilogarh) and established thanas, at various places, in the neighbourhood of the city, and divided these jurisdictions among his troops, so that each one might watch over the area assigned to him. After this, the citizens had repose from the turbulence of the Mewātis. When the Sultān had finished cutting down the jungle and extirpating the Mewātis, he made over the towns and villages in the Doāb to powerful Jāgīrdārs, who plundered and harried the turbulent men, and slew them, and made captives of their families and children, and in this way totally removed the troubles caused by them. After this, on two occasions, the Sultān went out of his capital, and led his troops towards Kaithal and Patiālī, and put the lawless and turbulent people of these districts to the sword. He opened the road to Hindustān, which according to the special meaning given to the name by the people of India signified Jaunpore and Behar and Bangālah, which had become closed. From these plundering and ravaging excursions he brought much booty, in the shape of captives and cattle, to Dehli. He built strong forts, and lofty mosques at Kaithal, and Patiālī, and Bhojpur, which had become the residence and the head-quarters of highway robbers. He made over these forts to Afghāns and strengthened the towns by settling bands of Afghāns in them.

In these days he erected the Hisār-i-Jalālī, which had been the residence of highway robbers, and settled Musalmāns there. He had scarcely finished doing these things, when he heard of the disturbance and emeute caused by the people of Katchar owing to the weakness of the feudatories of Badāūn and Amroha. The Sultān returned to the capital from Kaithal and Patiālī, and ordered that the army should be ready, and he made it appear to the people that he would march towards the skirts of the hills. Then before the royal pavilion could be brought out, he started with five thousand brave horsemen and made forced marches, and in the course of two nights he crossed the Ganges, at the ferry of Katchar, and entered the Katchar territory

He then gave orders for plundering and slaying None except women and children was left alive, and whoever, of the male sex had reached the age of eight years was made food for the sword They made hillocks of the slain From that time, to the time of Jalāluddīn, no lawless man could raise his head there, and the fiefs of Badāūn and Amroha had immunity from the wickedness of the Katcher people After that Sultān Balban returned to the capital in victory and triumph After a time, he again led his forces towards the skirts of the hills, and plundered those places The troops got hold of a large number of horses in this expedition, so that the price of a horse was reduced to thirty or forty tangahs Sulṭān Balban again returned to the capital in triumph and victory, and every time that he returned from camp, the Judges and other great officers went out two or three stages to receive him, and in the city people erected domes and had rejoicings Whatever was given as a thank offering was sent to the different parts of the realm, and distributed to deserving persons

After a time he marched towards Lahore, and rebuilt the fort which the Mughals had pulled down, and he made the country round about Lahore, which had been desolated by these ravages, flourish and thrive again He then returned to Dehli At this time some people who were conversant with economical questions, said to Sultān Balban that a large body of troops, who had received *jāgirs* in the time of Sultān Shamsuddīn, were still holding them There were many irregularities in these *jāgirs* The Sulṭān ordered that those who were aged, and unable to exert themselves, should be exempted from service in the army, and stipends should be conferred on them, so that they might have enough to live upon, and the remainder (of the jāgīrs) should be resumed Owing to this, vexation and grief fell upon the people A number of people carried presents to the Amīr-ul-umra Fakhruddīn Kotwāl, and represented the matter to him The Malik-ul-umra did not accept their presents, and said, if he took a bribe from them his words would have little effect He immediately went to the Sultān, and stood at his place in an anxious and sorrowful attitude The Sulṭān saw his grief and wanted to know the cause He said that he had heard that the Sultān had cancelled (the names of) the aged and had taken away their means of subsistence, and that he was sad, as he did not know what his fate would be, if they would treat old men

in the same way on the day of resurrection. The Sulṭān knew what he was referring to, the Malik-ul-umra's words affected him, and made him weep. He ordered that the stipends of the old men should be continued, and in nowise resumed.

Couplet

The Sulṭān's favour is auspicious to those
Who help the cause of those who are in need.

After a while Sher Khān, the cousin of Sultān Balban, died; they say that the Sulṭān ordered that poison should be given to him in his drink.[1] Sher Khān was a slave of Altamsh, one of the brotherhood of forty slaves, who had attained to the rank of an Amīr. He had erected the forts of Tabarhindah and Bhaṭnīr, and at the latter place he had also erected a lofty cupola.[2] He had held the fiefs of Sunām, Lahore, Debalpur and all the fiefs which were situated on the way of the invasion of the Mughals, from the reign of Nāsiruddīn to that of Sulṭān Balban.[3] He attacked the Mughals several times, and after defeating them had read the Khutbah, in the name of Sultān Nāsiruddīn, in Ghaznin, and owing to his bravery and intrepidity, and the number of his troops, the Mughals found it impossible to come into Hindustān. As he knew that Sultān Balban was endeavouring to compass the death of the Shamsī slaves, he never came to Dehli. After his death, Sultān Balban conferred the fiefs of Sunām and Sāmānah on Tamur Khān, who was also one of the company of forty slaves, and made over

[1] The word used is فقاع, which is said to be a liquor made from barley and other things, a sort of beer.

[2] According to Zia Barni, Sher Khān built a lofty cupola at Bhaṭnīr and founded the fortresses of Bhaṭindah and Bhaṭnīr. In the lith. ed. Tarhindah and in the MSS. Tabarhindah is given instead of Bhaṭindah.

[3] This statement is founded on Zia Burni's statement. According to the Tab-i-Nās., however, written by a contemporary, he was not in undisputed possession at any time, and some years before the death of Shamsuddīn, Tabarhindah was entrusted to the charge of Malik Nasrat Khān Sunkar-i-Sufi, and the fiefs of Kol, Biānah, Balārām, Jalisar, Baltārah, Mihir and Mahāwan and the fortress of Gwālior were placed in Sher Khān's charge, and he was there when the pages of the Ṭabākāt-i-Nāsiri, containing his history was written, in Rajab 658 A.H. (see pages 792 etc., Tab-i-Nās. trans.)

the other fiefs (which had been held by Sher Khān) to other Amīrs. The Mughals, who in the days of Sher Khān could not come near Hindustān, again began to give trouble on the outskirts of the country. In order to remedy this, Sultān Balban sent his eldest son, Muhammad Sultān, who has become celebrated as the martyred Khān, and who bore the title of K'aān Khān, and was adorned with bodily and mental accomplishments, to Multān.

Before doing so, he conferred on him a canopy of State and a *durbāsh*, and nominated him as his successor. Sind with its dependencies, and appanages, were made over to him. A number of Amīrs and wise men, and a large retinue, were sent to Multān with him. Muhammad Sulṭān was dearer to the Sulṭān than his brothers. He always sat or associated with learned and accomplished men. Amīr Khusro and Amīr Hasan were in his service, in Multān, for five years, and like his other courtiers received stipends and rewards. He held them in greater esteem than any of his other courtiers, and took great delight in their poetical and prose compositions. He was so well-behaved and polite, that even if he sat for a whole day and night, in the seat of authority, he never once raised his knees. He never took any oath except that of Hakka (Ah! God), and even in moments of negligence and intoxication, no harsh word was ever on his tongue.

Couplet

Politeness doth lend greatness to a man. Do thou
Thy nature with it grace, and great wilt thou then be.

He had great respect for Shaikhs and learned men. They say that Shaikh Usmān Sarmadi,[1] who was one of the saintly men of the time, came to Multān. The prince did him honour, presented him with valuable gifts, and prayed that he should take up his residence in Multān, and offered to erect a Khānkāh for him, and to endow some villages for his maintenance. The Shaikh did not agree and preferred a wandering life. One day this Shaikh and Shaikh Sadr-

[1] This word is given as مریدی مریدی مرمدی مردی in the lith. ed. and in the MSS.

uddīn, son of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakariā, were present in one of the prince's assemblies The other darweshes who were present were in ecstacies when they heard their Arabic verses, and they all began to dance He (the prince) was standing in front of them, with his hands on his chest, and wept continuously with the exuberance of his feelings Arabic poems, of a didactic character, were frequently recited in his assemblies On such occasions, he would give up other occupations, and listen to them, and show his anguish and shed tears

They say that one of the daughters of Sultān Shamsuddīn was married to him Accidentally, in a state of intoxication, he divorced her by uttering the word 'talak' thrice As there was no remedy, except the ceremony of legalizing it again, the lady was married to Shaikh Sadruddīn, son of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakaria After consummation of the marriage, when the Shaikh was asked to divorce the lady again, she said (to him) that she had sought shelter in his house from that perfidious man, and God would not allow that she should again be made over to his tender mercies The Shaikh then said that he could not be less than a woman, and did not divorce her Muhammad Sultān being unable to bear separation from her, was about to take his revenge But it so happened that at that very time the Mughals came, and he necessarily considered that it was his first duty to lead his troops against them He did so, and became a martyr On two occasions he sent messengers from Multān to Shirāz, to summon Shaikh Sa'dī (on whom be the mercy of God !), and sent him sums of money He offered to erect a Khānkāh for him in Multān and to endow a number of villages for his benefit The Shaikh could not come, on account of his old age and infirmity, and on each of the two occasions he sent a volume, containing his verses, written with his own hand, and he sent apologies for not being able to come and recommendations in favour of Amīr Khusro

Muhammad Sultān came every year from Multān to Dehli to render homage to his father, and presented valuable and elegant things, and received kind treatment from his father and then returned That year, after which he did not again return, Sultān Balban, at the time of bidding him farewell, sent for him to his private chamber, and said, "I have passed all my life as a *Malik* and a *Bādshāh*, and

I have gained various experiences I wish to give you a few precepts about the duties of sovereignty, that they may be of use to you after my death The first precept is this that when you sit on the throne of royalty, you do not consider the duties of governing a kingdom, which constitute really a viceregency of the Great and Almighty God, as something simple and easy, and do not besmirch and debase the glory of the position, which is one of such grandeur, by doing evil deeds and displaying low qualities, and do not make base and wicked men your partners in this great work

Couplet

Do not allow the low and the base to come to thee
The malignant thou canst not make the beneficent

Another precept is this that you reserve the sternness and terror of your rank for their right place, and abstain from gratifying the lust of your desires, that you never act except in the way of God, and that you never use your treasures, which are great Divine gifts, except for the glorification of God, and the benefit of your people Another is that you always keep the enemies of the true faith, the wicked and the tyrannical, crushed down, under your heel Another is that you always keep yourself thoroughly acquainted with the condition and the acts of your deputies and officers, and invite them to perform good deeds and to cultivate praiseworthy qualities Another is that you appoint just and pure-minded judges, and rulers, over your people, so that the religion of God may gain further currency and the glory of justice may be better revealed among men Another is that both publicly and privately, you always preserve the dignity and grandeur of royalty, and never indulge in any forbidden or unlawful practices

Couplet

Oh guard, as thou best canst, thy dignity and awe!
For trifling with the low, thy grandeur doth impair

Another is that you confer benefits and honours on energetic, pious, and grateful men, and neglect not to improve their position, and show kindness to skilful and intelligent men, who confer honour

and distinction on a kingdom, and never expect loyalty from wicked men, and those who have not the fear of God in their hearts, and know that the well-being of your kingdom, and of religion, lies in your banishing such persons from your neighbourhood

Couplet

Cast not from thee one who is of nature pure,
And from one of nature vile, refrain,
The evil-natured keepeth faith with none,
One from evil sprung doth ever to evil cling

Another precept is this that magnanimity and kinghood are correlatives of each other, and wise men and philosophers have compared them to twins, and have said that it is right that the spirit of a king should be the king of the spirits [of other men], that if the spirit of a king were like the spirits of other men, there would be no distinction between a king and common people, and that kinghood cannot be united to a mean spirit Another is this that when you raise one to a high position, do not again cast him down for some small fault that he may commit, and do not afflict one who sincerely wishes you well, except for some reason of state, and do not convert your friends into your enemies

Couplet

Every chief that thou thyself hast raised,
Cast him not down again so long as thou canst

If owing to some reason connected with religion or the state you punish any one, still leave room for peace [with him], and be not overquick in causing pain to those of noble family, for any wound caused to their honour is not quickly or easily healed Another is this do not listen to the words of a captious man, and do not allow such men to come near you, as this will create a fear in the minds of the adherents of your court, and of the well-wishers of your greatness, and will give rise to great dangers in the affairs of your kingdom Another is do not embark in an undertaking until you know what its issue will be, for to leave any transaction unfinished does not consort with the dignity of a king

Couplet

Until you make your footing firm,
Do not in an enterprise embark

Another precept is this do not attempt any thing without consulting wise men, and refrain always from doing a thing which can be done equally well by one of your subordinates The power of discriminating good men from bad is the real test of government, and in all matters the golden mean should be followed· for sternness and ferocity produce universal hatred, while sloth and slackness bring thoughts of violence and revolt into the heads of the turbulent Finally, always take the greatest care in your own safety, for therein lies the safety of your people, and keep your court well guarded by faithful and honest watchmen and sergeants Always be kind to your brother, and never listen to any one's words in respect of him, and consider him to be your arm, and support, and confirm his fiefs to him" After giving him these precepts, and conferring the insignia of royalty on him, the Sultān sent his son towards Multān

The same year the Sultān sent his younger son Bughrā Khān, who bore the title of Nāsiruddīn, to Sāmānah, and conferred the fief of that name, and that of Sunām, on him When bidding him farewell, he gave him some advice and said, "On arrival there you should raise the pay of your old soldiers and engage as many new troops as may be necessary, and you should be very vigilant about the invasions of the Mughals, and in all affairs of State you should consult with wise men, who should be in your confidence You should also represent to me the truth about any matters in respect of which you may have any doubts or perplexity, so that you may do as I may direct" He then forbade his drinking wine, and said, "If after this you drink spirituous liquors I shall deprive you of these fiefs and give you others instead, but you will always be degraded and despicable in my eyes' Bughrā Khān gave place to his father's precepts, in the ear of intelligence, made righteousness his habit, gave up all evil practices and became such that if the Mughals invaded Hindustān, Muhammad Sultān from Multān, Bughrā Khān from Sāmānah, and Malik Bārbak Beg Tars from Dehli could be at once deputed to repel them, and by the time they reached the river Biah,

which was near the town of Sultānpur, these would completely check the disturbance created by them

After the government of Sultān Balban had acquired stability, and the rivals of his power had been discomfited, and had disappeared, Tughral who was a Turk slave and possessed the qualities of briskness, activity, liberality and bravery, and was the ruler of the Lakhnauti territory, seeing that the Sultān had become old, and had sent both his sons against the Mughals and was busily occupied with repelling their incursions, and also thinking that he had acquired the necessary forces and equipment, in a headstrong way laid the foundation of revolt and appropriated to himself the whole of the treasures and the elephants which he had brought from Jājnagar, and did not send any portion of them to the Sultān He then assumed the royal canopy, gave himself the title of Sulṭān Maghisuddīn, and raised the standard of hostility As he was liberal, nay lavish in his gifts, the inhabitants of the country submitted to him, and accepted his rule, and his affairs became prosperous

Couplet

A generous king adherents never lacks,
No one to him doth worthless ever become

When the news of Tughral's rebellion reached Dehli, the Sultān ordered a force to be mustered, and made Malik Aītakīn Mue-daraz, who bore the title of Amīn Khān, and was the feudatory of Audh, the Commander-in-Chief, and he despatched other nobles, such as Tamar Khān Shamsī, and Malik Tājuddīn, son of 'Ali Khān Shamsī, for the punishment of Tughral When Malik Aītakīn crossed the Saryu with his army, and set out towards Lakhnauti, Tughral came and met him, and in the battle which ensued, vanquished him From this action Tughral acquired great power and grandeur The Sultān on hearing this melancholy news, was much vexed and grieved, and punished Malik Aītakīn by hanging him at the gate of Audh He then mustered another army for carrying on the war with Tughral, but the latter defeated it also The Sultān became still more angry and furious on hearing this, and with a lofty spirit and kingly determination resolved to lead the army himself He gave orders that a large flotilla of boats should be got ready and

collected in the Jumna and the Ganges, and himself started on a hunting expedition in the direction of Sāmānah, and Sunām, and making Malik Saunj, the commandant of the imperial guard, the deputy governor of Sāmānah, took Bughrā Khān with him, with his personal troops, and returning from Sāmānah into the Doāb, crossed the Ganges, and took the route to Lakhnauti He left the Malik-ul-Umra as the regent at Dehli, and owing to his great eagerness, and the high state of preparation (of his army), he did not take heed of the rains, but marched without interruption towards Lakhnauti

In every thing in the way of household affairs
Repose is better But in matters of rule
The world belongs to him who is quick
In the matter of conquest, delay is fatal

As owing to the heavy rains, and the difficulties of the road, the Sultān was delayed, Tughral took advantage of it, and putting his army in a state of readiness, started in the direction of Jājnagar, intending to conquer that territory, and to remain there for some time, and to return to Lakhnauti, when the Sultān should have returned towards Dehli The inhabitants (of the province), fearful of Sultān Balban's wrath, and avaricious of his wealth, submitted to him, whether willingly or otherwise When the Sultān reached Lakhnauti, he halted there for some days, and having re-equipped his army, started towards Jājnagar in pursuit of Tughral He entrusted the superintendence of the affairs at Lakhnauti to the Sipah-sālār Hisāmuddīn and the Vakil-dar, Malik Bārbak When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sonargaon, Bhojrāi, who was the governor of the place, came to his presence and enlisted himself among his adherents He promised, that if Tughral should attempt to escape by the sea, he would prevent him The Sultān then set out, with the greatest promptitude, for Jājnagar After he had marched some stages, all news of Tughral disappeared, and none could give any clue as to his whereabouts [The Sultān] then ordered Malik Bārbak Beg Tars to take seven thousand picked horsemen with him, and to march ten or twelve kurohs in advance (of the main army) Although scouts went in advance and made enquiries about Tughral, they did not see any signs or traces of him, till one day, when a detach-

ment of the advanced guard, consisting of Malik Tīrandāz,[1] the feudatory of Kol, and his brother, Malik Mukaddar, and another man who had[2] become known as Tughral Kush, with thirty or forty horsemen went in advance as scouts Suddenly, they came upon a few of Tughral's soldiers, and found out from them that it was less than half a kuroh between the place where they were and Tughral's camp, and the latter was making a halt that day, and he would reach Jājnagar the next day When the mounted scouts got on the top of the embankment, they saw Tughral's pavilion standing before them, and his soldiers taking their rest, in a complete state of negligence They drew their swords, and suddenly fell upon Tughral's pavilion The latter, panic struck, escaped by the bathroom, and mounting a saddleless horse, jumped into some water which was near his camp His troops also dispersed with the fear and alarm, which overcame them, and fled in all directions Malik Mukaddar and Tughral Kush pursued Tughral, and came up to him on the bank of the water Tughral Kush shot him with an arrow in the side, and he fell off from his horse Malik Mukaddar dismounted, and cutting off his head, threw his body into the water He concealed the head under the skirt of his robe, and occupied himself with washing his face and hands At the same moment Malik Bārbak, who was the commander of the advanced guard, came up and sent Tughral's head with a letter announcing the victory to the Sultān The next day Malik Bārbak presented himself before the Sultān with the plunder and the captives taken from Tughral's army, and explained how the victory had been achieved The Sulṭān was displeased, on account of the carelessness which had been shown by Malik Bārbak, but he ultimately rewarded him, and he bestowed favours and gifts on Malik Tīrandāz, and all the Turks He also gave equal rewards to Mukaddar and Tughral Kush Then he returned to Lakhnauti, and punished the relatives and friends of Tughral, and ordered them to be hanged in the market-place of Lakhnauti, so much so, that he even punished a Kalandar, who had been held

[1] His name is given as Malik Tīrandāz or Malik Sharābdār in different places in the lith ed and the MSS

[2] The original has been correctly translated in the text, but the meaning apparently is that he became known as Tughral-kush or "the Slayer of Tughral," after he had helped to slay the latter

in honour by him, and the other Kalandars his friends He also passed orders that other soldiers of Tughral should be punished in Dehli. After this he left Bughrā Khān in Lakhnauti, after conferring on him the royal canopy, and durbash, and the other insignia of royalty, and then raised his standards for his return to Dehli

At the time of his departure, he gave some advice to his dear son The first precept was this That it was not right (for the ruler of Lakhnauti) to fall out with, and revolt against, the King of Dehli, whether they were relations or strangers, and if the latter invaded Lakhnauti, the ruler of that province should turn away from him, and go to distant parts Then when the King of Dehli returned to his capital, he might return to Lakhnauti and go on with his government The second precept was this That in levying revenue from his subjects (a King) should follow the golden mean He should not take so little that they would become refractory and turbulent, nor so much that they would be reduced to helplessness and poverty He should also pay such stipends to his soldiers, that they might live in comfort from year's end to year's end, and not suffer from penury and privation Another precept was this That in affairs of State, he should not undertake anything without the advice of wise men, who should at the same time be his sincere well-wishers

Couplet

Wisdom is better than a hundred swords,
The King's crown is better than a hundred diadems,
With policy can the back of an army be broken,
With a sword can only one to ten be slain

In the passing of decrees, a king should abstain from the lusts of the flesh, and should not act contrary to what is just, for the sake of his own interest Another precept was this That (a king) should not be negligent in making enquiries about the condition of his soldiery, which is one of his principal duties, and should consider it incumbent on him to encourage them, and should not go to extremes in any matter connected with them. He should consider any one, who should induce or incite him to do so, as an enemy, and should not listen to his words Another precept was this That a

king should certainly place himself under the protection of one who should have turned his back on the world and should have placed his dependence on God

Couplet

For protection betake thyself to the darwesh's skirts !
'Tis stronger than a hundred of Alexander's walls

The Sultān should not have anything to do with one in whose heart even an atom of the love of the world should be found, and should not place any reliance on his words or deeds

After making his son's ears heavy with the pearls of his advice, he bade him farewell, and turned his face towards Dehli

The Shaikhs, and the learned and the pious men of every city and town, at which he arrived, welcomed and congratulated him, and offered gifts and presents, and were honoured with robes and rewards In the large cities, the citizens erected triumphal domes, and made rejoicings When he passed Badāūn and crossed the Ganges, the Sayyads and Kāzīs and all the notable men of Dehli welcomed him, and congratulated him in due form, and were honoured with the royal favour When he reached Dehli, he gave alms, and made devout offerings, and made all deserving people happy He also went to the houses of learned men, and darweshes, and gave them alms corresponding to their merits, and released prisoners who were in durance on account of debts, and also remitted the arrears of the rayyats, which appeared in the revenue registers The Malik-ul-Umra who had been the regent in his absence, was highly honoured with various favours on account of the wisdom he had displayed in the management of the affairs of State

The Sultān then ordered that gibbets should be erected in the market-place of Dehli, and the prisoners from the army of Tughral, who had gone from Dehli to Lakhnauti, and had joined him, should be hanged on them The citizens were in great sorrow and anxiety, as most of the prisoners were their relations and connections, and went about weeping and lamenting The Kāzī of the army, who was one of the holy men of the age, went to the Sultān, and using piteous words, softened his heart After that he interceded on behalf of the offenders, and the Sultān accepted his intercessions, and drew the pen of forgiveness over their offences

After this, Muhammad Sulṭān, the eldest son of the Sultān, came from Multān to see him, and offered elegant presents, and fitting tribute The Sultān was delighted at his coming, showed him many loving attentions, and then bade him farewell At this time Tamar with a vast army arrived between Lahore and Dibalpur and a sanguinary conflict ensued, and Muhammad Sultān and some of his amīrs attained martyrdom In the battle Mir Khusru was taken prisoner but was released Khwāja Hasan wrote the following elegy[1] and sent it to Dehli —"The tyrannical sky, although for a while it makes a bond of agreement and gives a promise of sincerity (soon) turns, and inconstant destiny, although for a time it shows itself to be agreeable and gives promise of faith (soon) changes The treacherous eyed sky, the pupil of whose generosity is filled with meanness, although, at first like a drunkard, without any reason for liberality, it gives away a thing, yet at the end, although a sense of shame would forbid it, takes it back The well-known custom of the world is this, as experience and hearsay what we see, and what we hear, equally teach, that whenever anyone shines like the moon, it (the world) wants to blacken his face of perfect beauty, with the stain of loss, and whenever any one rises above our heads like a cloud, it (the world) scatters his gem (greatness) in little particles on all sides of the horizon In this parterre of perplexity, and in this garden of regrets, no flower has ever bloomed without a thorn, and no heart has escaped the thorn of anguish Ah ! how many young plants are there, which from the effects of the autumn of calamity show a pale and withered face instead of a fresh beauty, and how many flowers lie trampled in the dust (blown down) by the rough blast of time "

Couplet

See ! how hath autumn shown its power in my garden fair !
What havoc hath it done to the youthful cypress there !

One of the examples of such vicissitudes is the death of the departed prince Kācān Malik Ghāzī May God illuminate his tomb ! and make

[1] The elegy is written in an extremely inflated and involved style and it has been difficult to make sense of portions of it The first words دیر بارست do not make sense

his scales heavy with His mercies ! On Friday, the 3rd of the month of Zil Hijjah, in the year 693 A H , when

Couplet

The moon, like love in a Kafir's heart, was quite unseen,
And the sun, with uplifted sword, with the army of Islām came,

the great prince, who was the Sun in the sky of the State, and the brightness of whose honour shone from his forehead, and whose zeal for holy warfare was firm, put his auspicious foot in the stirrup They explained to his intellect, which was quick in solving all difficulties, that Tamar had arrived with his army within three farsangs When morning broke, he started from the camp on his march, and halted at a distance of one farsang from the accursed ones. He chose as the battlefield a place within the boundaries of the Bāgh Sarīr, on the banks of the river of Lahaur (Lahore), so that he had in his neighbourhood the water of the Dehandi[1] and a big swamp He fortified the place strongly, and arranged that when the infidels should be opposed to him both pieces of water should be of use to his army, as on account of the river, no part of his troops would be able to take to flight, nor would any danger befall any part of his army from the infidels In truth, these precautionary measures showed how great the prudence and how wonderful the strategy of that world-conquering Khān was. But alas ! When evil destiny overtakes one, no skill is of any avail, and the strings of all plans get entangled

Couplets

Him whom doth evil fortune meet,
His affairs to his enemies wishes fall,
When fortune like a madman goes astray,
Wisdom like the blind into a well doth fall

[2]It so happened that on that day the moon and the sun, who are so intimately connected with kings, hung in the sign of the fish, and Mars, the redness of whose face is caused by the blood of the

[1] I cannot make out this word It is written like Wamandi in the lith ed and Dehandi in the MSS. It appears, however, that Dihandah was the name of a river near Ajodhan, S W of Dibalpur.

[2] This extremely inflated passage appears to be mutilated The lith. ed and the MSS differ much, and it is difficult to make sense of portions of it

nobles of the State, drew the arrows of destruction and the bolts of ruin from the quiver of that sign, and for the Khān, who was a lion to the gemini, the signs of disturbances and the thoughts of ruin were clear and manifest from the watery sign, the house of fear and destruction, and the text of "then brothers fled from one another" was written on the leaf [of truth]. In short, at midday, when the horseman of the sky was in the region of noon, the life of the world-brightening prince drew near the hour of its destruction Suddenly [a cloud of] dust appeared from the direction of those infidels, and the Khān Ghāzi mounted his horse that same hour, and ordered that all his soldiers, and adherents, his officers and men should act according to the text, "Kill all the infidels as they would kill you all", drew them up in a line a hundred times stronger than the wall of Alexander, and after arranging the right and left wings, stationed his own highly accomplished person in the centre, like the moon among all the stars ready for a holy war The heathen Tātars, on whom may there be loss and ruin, crossed the river of Lahore, and confronted the ranks of the Musalmāns These barbarians, born in deserts, and friends of desolation, placed owls' feathers on their accursed heads The army of Islām, consisting of Turk and Khalj Maliks, and the notables of Hindustān, and the entire body of soldiers, lifted up their hands in the prayer-ground of battle, crying 'God is great', for the reason that the prophet, on whom be the benediction and peace of God ! has identified holy war with prayer, and has said we betake ourselves to holy war against the greatest from holy war against the smallest In their first onset they brought some of the strongest amongst the tribes of the Mughals under their swords, and the spears of the Maliks in attendance on the prince so stuck in the bodies of the foes, that the blood spurted out from every one of them to the height of the spears, and the plumes of the arrows of the Turks, who were in attendance on the prince, so became interlaced on the persons of the Tātars that no space was left

Couplet

At the first onset, the prince's arrow sprung,
The Tātars, all at once, inert became

Each time that the lion-hearted lord struck with his sword, which like his faith was stainless and rushed out from the line of battle,

the sword as it were trembled, in the battlefield, for fear of his heroic attributes, and becoming all tongue said to him, "For this one day leave the work of the destruction of these accursed ones to the slaves of thy greatness, and do not move out in thy own gracious person for the sword hath two faces, and the sword of death is shameless, through intoxication It cannot be said what will happen to whom, through the decree of the Almighty I blink my eye (i e , my eye is dazzled) at thy extreme perfection "

Couplets

Go not ! for I place the dust [of thy feet] on my eyes
Do not ! for I am afraid of the evil eye
The sky hath not such a bright face seen !
I throw myself on that fire as a sacrifice

During the time that he was engaged in carrying on the holy war in the field of endeavour, each of the weapons spoke as follows with a tongue suited to its condition The lance said, "Withdraw, O Prince ! thy hand from me, for the tongue of my blade has become blunt with much smiting and slaying, and I have no power left now to strike thy enemy in the face God forbid that when I strike make a futile stroke " The arrow said "Oh ! thou ! whose true aim has untied the knot of the nodes, go not to attack these wicked men, for I myself in my flight may throw dust on my head God forbid that the narrow-eyed Turk of the Sky, who is in the fifth mansion, should shoot an arrow of destruction at you, in the way of tyranny and ruin, from the bow of hostility and malevolence, from his place of ambush at the door of the eighth mansion " The lasso said "You should not allow the string of the place to escape from the hand of thought, to-day, for I am writhing in pain, on account of this hasty war and rash conflict Delay for a moment in the place of deliberation for Islām and Musalmāns are to-day like the entangled ropes of the tents of prosperity Ah God ! do not allow so much amplitude to the custom of lasso-throwing with these people "

Couplet

I have with gladness put my head in a noose before thee,
Oh lasso-thrower mine, throw the lasso of thy curls

In short the prince, the defender of the faith and the destroyer of idolatry, carried on the battle with great energy and vigour against that band of heathens, with the whole main body of his troops, from noon till sunset

The shouts of the victorious, and the cries of those eager for combat, deafened the ears of the earth, and the hearing of the sky, and the fiery tongues which flew up from the heads of the lances, and the tongues of the swords, which did not err by a single letter in delivering the messages of the angles of death, all uttered the text, that it was the day on which men fled from their brethern The surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men, who had lost their sons, overflowed with blood, and the face of the sky, like the heads of sons who had lost their fathers, was covered with dust

Couplet

Why does the steel of the sword glow like fire, oh father ?[1]
That it may place the mark of orphanhood on my heart !

In the very midst of this trouble the very heart of this danger and confusion, an arrow from the aim of fate suddenly reached the wing of that falcon of the expanse of holy war, and the bird of his soul fled from the cage of the body towards the garden of paradise At the same moment, the back of the religion of Muhammad, on whom be the peace and benediction of God ! broke like the wretched hearts of orphans ! and the structure of the faith of Ahmad fell down like the tombs of the poor ! Strength passed away from the arm of the State, and radiance from the sun of Islām ! Exactly at the hour of sunset, the moon of the life of the prince, whose fortune had become pale, set in the west of death The sky, like a mourner, put on a blue robe, and black tears began to flow over its cheeks Saturn like a faithful mourner put on a black robe, and shouted lamentations for the prince's death to the people of Hindustān Jupiter, grieving for that corpse, covered with dust, threw down his blood-stained robe and his torn garments and turban in the dust The heart of Marsh, on account of the prince's death, became narrow like the eyes of the Turks, and the face of his

[1] It is not clear why the question is put to the father, but the lith ed and all the MSS agree in reading ای پدر

life, like the curls of Negroes, became tight and black, and owing to this grief, a thorn pierced the heart of blood The fish (i e the sign pisces) panted, as if it was a ram in the clutches of a butcher. The Sun did not rise for shame, as it had not prevented such a calamity; and had not stopped such a catastrophe, and sank in the earth When Venus saw what misery had been caused to all existences by this war, she changed the tone of her tambourine, and began singing in a different tune Instead of playing on her instruments, she wept over the death of that magnanimous prince, who had ever been so generous to all his servants Mercury, who like a secretary used to write the gazettes of his victories in his wars and excursions, blackened his face, after this calamity, with the ink of his inkstand, and made a robe of paper for himself with the leaves of his gazette The bright moon rose in the shape of a very thin crescent, on the horizon, on that day of world upheaval

Couplets

Thou layest thy face in the dust, alas ! I do not wish thee thus
Oh moon of my life ! I do not wish thee to be under the ground;
If thou goest a-hunting the dust thou treadest is my place
Thy companionship is pleasant for me, I do not wish thee thus

May the great and holy God raise the gracious, pure and saintly soul of that victorious prince to a higher position and a more elevated plane ! And make him taste of the full cup of his own beauty, greatness, and glory ! May every grace, and kindness and favour, that he showed to this poor and forlorn one, be the cause of his attaining a higher rank and the obliteration of his errors Amen ! Oh God of all the world and all its inhabitants !

When this intelligence reached Sulṭān Balban, he became sorely afflicted and grieved At this time, he was more than eighty years of age, and although he endeavoured to show that he was strong and brave, the marks of the infirmity and fragility which had found their way into his condition, owing to this calamity, became manifest to all; and his state became worse day by day After these events, the Sulṭān sent Kaikhusru to Multān in place of his father, after conferring a canopy and a *durbash* on him He also sent for Bughrā Khān from Lakhnauti, and said to him "The separation from thy elder brother

has made me sad and infirm; I see that the hour of my passing away is approaching At this time thy absence from me, when I have no heir but thyself, is inexpedient. Thy son Kaikubād and thy brother's son Kaikhusru are both young, and have no experience of the world If the kingdom falls into their hands, they will not be able, owing to the immaturity of their youth and their hankering after pleasures, to keep it safe You will have to do homage to either of them, if they sit on the throne of Dehli. But if you ascend that throne, the ruler of Lakhnauti will submit to you, and obey you You should not, therefore, go away from Dehli Bughrā Khān, however, had the desire of ruling at Lakhnauti in his heart, and when the Sulṭān appeared to be slightly better, he started for Lakhnauti, without obtaining leave, on the pretext of going out to hunt He had, however, not yet reached his destination, when the Sulṭān's malady grew worse This time the Sultān sent for the Malik-ul-Umra, Fakhruddīn Kotwāl, and gave directions for Kaikhusru being appointed at his successor After three days, he was united to the mercy of God, and was buried in the Dār-ul-Āmān (the mansion of safety, the royal cemetery)

As Fakhr-ul-Umrā, the Kotwāl, and his adherents, had been hostile to the martyred Khān, the father of Kaikhusru, they sent the latter to Multān under a false pretext

The period of Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn Balban's rule extended to twenty-two years, and a few months

Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaikubād

After the death of Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn Balban, Kaikubād, the son of Bughrā Khān, who was eighteen years of age, was raised to the throne, with the title of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Kaikubād. This prince was adorned with excellent moral qualities He had always been brought up and educated under the eye of Sulṭān Balban, and stern teachers and governors had been employed for him. Consequently up to this time, he had not been allowed to enjoy any pleasures, and to satisfy any desires When he was suddenly freed from all control, owing to the first onset of youth, and of the desire of the pleasures of the senses, he opened wide the doors of pleasures and enjoyment, and preferred the satisfaction of his lusts to the duties of government

He became entirely devoted to vanity and the worship of self, and as people adopt the religion (and practices) of their rulers, young and old were engrossed with pleasures and amusements. The Sulṭān left Dehli and laid the foundations of a grand castle, and of splendid gardens, on the banks of the Jumna at Kilokheri, and made it his capital.

Owing to Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn's immersion in pleasures and dissipation, harlots, and jesters, and musicians, and singers came to his court from all sides of the world, and as there are many classes of these people in India, the work of dissipation and debauchery went on at a prodigious rate and the doors of wickedness and prostitution were opened wide, and the names of sorrow and anxiety were forgotten and became obliterated from the hearts of people. The court of the Sultān was perpetually filled and crowded with beautiful women, and sweet singers, and witty men, and courtiers with silvery tongues. A single moment did not pass without enjoyment and pleasure, and people spent their lives in giving gifts and rewards and in lavishness and prodigality.

Malik Nizāmuddīn, who was the nephew and also the son-in-law of the Malik-ul-Umra, Kotwāl, became very intimate with the Sultān, and the affairs of the government were entrusted entirely to his judgment. Malik Kawāmuddīn 'Ilākā, who was one of the incomparable men of the age, became the Umdat-ul-Mulk (the chief minister) and Naib Vakil-dar (the deputy representative). As Malik Nizāmuddīn was a crafty and deceitful man, the Balbanī Maliks, who were the officers and auxiliaries of the Mu'izzī government, became frightened and anxious owing to the power and influence acquired by him; and endeavoured to gain his favour. In all affairs of State they kept his wishes before their eyes, and did not allow the string of subservience to escape from their hands. Malik Nizāmuddīn was narrow-minded and covetous. When he found that the Amīrs and Maliks were humble and subservient to him, and Sultān Mu'izzuddīn was sunk in debauchery and dissipation, a mad desire of acquiring power and empire, which had really no manner of connection with him, got into his head, and he girded up his loins for the extirpation of the Balbanī dynasty. In pursuance of this foolish thought, and mad ambition, he said to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn "Kaikhusru is a co-sharer with you in the empire, and he is adorned with princely qualities and regal attri-

butes " He also impressed on his mind the fact that the Amirs and Maliks were favourably disposed to his cause, and in this way obtained an order for his assassination. Sultān Mu'izzuddīn listened to, and accepted, the words of that deceitful man, and sent an order to Multān for summoning Kaikhusru, and he employed some men to murder that innocent prince on the way The helpless Kaikhusru started for Dehli in compliance with the order, but at Ruhtak he attained to martyrdom After this Malik Nizāmuddīn falsely accused the vazīr, Khwājah Khatīr, of an offence, and had him marched round the capital, mounted on an ass The fear of Malik Nizāmuddīn which had been produced in the hearts of the Amirs and Maliks became greater, and all men turned to him

At this time, the intelligence of the approach of the Mughals to the neighbourhood of Lahore came Malik Barbak Beg Tars and Khān Jahān were sent to quell the disturbance created by them A sanguinary conflict took place in the vicinity of Lahore, and most of the Mughals were slain, and a number of them were taken prisoners and brought to Dehli After that, Malik Nizāmuddīn said one day to Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn, that the Mughal nobles were all of the same class, and they had many followers If they united together and acted treacherously, it would be difficult to remedy the evil With such glossed and specious words, he deceived the Sultān, and obtained permission for the massacre of the Mughal Amirs, and they were all seized one day and slughtered Their families were also extirpated Some of the Balbanī Maliks, who were allied to the Mughal Amirs, or had friendly relations with them, were imprisoned and sent to distant fortresses Malik Nizāmuddīn had no compunction about destroying old families, and he did away with Amīr Shāhbak, the feudatory of Multān, and Amīr Yezki, the feudatory of Baran, who had been Amirs of Sultān Balban, by such pretexts and subterfuges as he could think of He made the Sulṭān so subservient to him, that whenever any one at any time, loyally, and for the Sulṭān's own good, communicated even a few words about his machinations and plots to the latter, he at once repeated it to him, and had the man seized and made over to him Malik Nizāmuddīn's wife, who was the daughter of the Malik-ul-Umra, acquired great influence in the Sulṭān's *haram*, and the Sulṭān used to address her by the title of mother Owing to his

great power, the Amīrs and Maliks became completely obsequious and subservient to him, and endeavoured by every means that they knew, and could employ, to comply with his wishes, and to protect themselves from his machinations His threshold became the asylum of high and low, and the dignity and glory of the Mū'izzi court were shattered.

Poetry

The king who lifts the base to grandeur high,
Makes every danger great and high, alas!
The fire, which makes the water boil up high,
Doth surely bring contempt and danger on itself

When the Malik-ul-Umra Kotwāl became cognizant of the dangerous plots, and the insane machinations, of Malik Nizāmuddīn, who stood in the place of a son to him, he sent for him to his private chamber, and endeavoured by means of wise advice and weighty arguments to drive out from his head his absurd designs and evil intentions, but they had no effect whatever That man with the ill-digested understanding, and the evil-disposed heart, would not attend to his words, and said in answer, "All that you say is right and the contrary is wrong But as I have made the people my enemies, and they all know what my intentions are, if I now draw back my hand, they will not withhold their hands from me" The Malik-ul-Umra showed his detestation for Malik Nizāmuddīn's designs, and was sorely vexed with him When this became known to the great men, and the notables, they all praised the Malik-ul-Umra, and his farsightedness and his endeavours for the safety of the State became manifest to all

In short, Bughrā Khān, the father of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn, who was the ruler of the territory of Lakhnauti and bore the title of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn, heard that the Sulṭān was always immersed in amusements and dissipation, and did not attend to the affairs of government; and that Malik Nizāmuddīn, having destroyed all the Balbanī Amīrs and Maliks, and all the useful ministers and officials, wanted to rise in rebellion, and wrote letters giving much advice to his son; and he informed all the Amīrs and Maliks by hints and implications Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn, on account of the pride of youth and the in-

toxication of wine, did not lend his ears to his father's words, and felt no anxiety about what his father had written to him When Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn found that his advice had no effect in his absence, he wished to have an interview with his son, so that he might tell him face to face what he had to say He sent a letter, written with his own hand, to his son, and said in it "Oh my son, the desire to see thee has deprived me of all strength; do not let me suffer the pangs of separation any longer; and allow me to have a sight of thee" When Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn read his father's affectionate letter, his love was revived, and he sent letters containing loving messages to him, by the hand of persons who were near his throne, and expressed a desire for seeing him In this way, the chain of affectionate feelings was moved from both sides, and after the interchange of epistles and messages, it was settled that Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn should travel from Dehli to Audh, and Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn should also come there from his capital, and the two kings should meet there, and should have the pleasure of each other's company The Kiran-us-Sa'dain of Amīr Khusru is the narrative of this meeting between father and son It appears from Amīr Khusru's account, that Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn started from Lakhnauti with the intention of conquering Dehli and destroying his son, and Sultān Mu'izzuddīn also hastened forward for a battle and bloodshed; and it was at Audh that matters were peaceably arranged

To be brief, Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn wanted to hasten alone to meet his father, Malik Nizāmuddīn said that it was inexpedient that the bādshāh should travel such a long distance alone. [He argued that] in matter of State no deference should be shown to the relation of father and son It was right that the Sulṭān should march with all pomp, and all the paraphernalia of Empire, and a well-equipped army, so that all the Rāys, Rājās and Zemindārs might be impressed with fear and awe at the sight of the splendour and grandeur of the bādshāh, and might behave with complete humility, obedience and subservience According to Malik Nizāmuddīn's advice the Sulṭān started towards Audh with a well-equipped army, and with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty When Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn heard of this, and knew that it was according to the advice of Malik Nizāmuddīn, he also set out from Lakhnauti, with

a large retinue and troops and elephants, to meet his son The two armies encamped on the two banks of the Sarayu For three days messages and letters were interchanged about the arrangements of the interview Finally, it was settled that the son should sit on the throne· and Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn should cross the river, and should show due reverence to his son, and should come before the throne. Sultān Mu'izzuddīn ordered his pavilion to be erected, and sat in it with all the grandeur of Kaikhusru and Kaikubād, and ordered the place of meeting to be arranged and adorned Sultān Nāsiruddīn dismounted near the ante-chamber and at three places performed the ceremony of kissing the ground Then, when he came in front of the throne, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn could not restrain himself any longer, he descended from the throne and fell at his father's feet, and they embraced each other and wept on each other's breasts. Tears flowed from the eyes of the spectators on seeing their condition The father caught the son's hand, and placed him on the throne, and wanted to stand in front of it But the son came down again, and made the father sit on the throne, and himself sat down respectfully in front of him Tangahs of gold and silver were distributed Poets recited odes and eulogies, musicians sang, and ushers and heralds made proclamations, and carried out all ceremonials of royal pomp and grandeur, connected with grand assemblages, that were customary. The two kings were delighted and charmed with mutual discourse and conversation

After a time Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn got up, crossed the river, and went to his own pavilion The father and the son then sent each other rare and valuable presents, dainty fruits and articles of dessert, and delicious foods and beverages The soldiers of the two armies were ordered to go to one another's quarters, and to behave like friends Sultān Nāsiruddīn came on several successive days to the pavilion of his son The two kings enjoyed the society of each other and held meetings and indulged in various pleasures and enjoyments, and drank with each other When the day of farewell approached, Sultān Nāsiruddīn said to his son, "Jamsheid said that a king who does not keep so much money in his treasury that he may help his soldiers on the day of the onset of his enemies, and may come to the rescue of his subjects in times of calamity and famine, such a king does not deserve to be called a king of men," and gave him other

advice, such as was specially deserving the attention of kings. Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn said, that as he had no benefactor, or sympathiser, who would waken him from the sleep of carelessness, the king should make him acquainted with whatever might be right and proper in all matters, so that he might make it the guide of his conduct and might not allow it to be transgressed in any way Sultān Nāsiruddīn, in an ebullition of paternal love, said "I have endured the troubles of this long journey with the one object of making your ears of wisdom heavy with the pearls of advice, of wakening you from the sleep of inattention which was incidental to youth and power and the desire for pleasure, and of doing everything that was required of the love and affection of a father" He then ordered everyone to retire, and directed that Malik Nizāmuddīn and Kawāmuddīn, who was the Umdat-ul-Mulk, might attend, so that he might say what he had to say in their hearing The two ministers came Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn then said with love and pity "Oh son! when I heard that thou hadst ascended the throne of Dehli, I became extremely pleased I knew that I had the territory of Lakhnauti already, now I had acquired the territory of Dehli also Now it is two years, however, that I have heard stories of thy pleasures and dissipation, of thy neglect and inattention, and I am astonished that thou art still safe From that date, I have mourned for thee and for myself, and I have seen the kingdoms of Dehli and Lakhnauti in the embrace of destruction, and have emptied my heart of all hopes of them, and specially from that day, when I heard that thou hadst ordered my father's servants, who had been brought up under his protection, and who were thy sincere well-wishers, to be slain Because thou hast ordered them to be slain, others have lost all confidence in thee I have no hope, no expectation, now in the stability of the empire Be think thee of this, my son! that my elder brother, who was fit to adorn a throne, became a martyr in my father's lifetime His son who was fit to be a king, and who was thy strength and support, thou hadst destroyed at the instigation of those who wished thee ill, so that they might do away with thee, and the empire of Dehli might pass into the grasp of a strange family and tribe They would not leave our names, and no vestige of us, on the face of the earth If thou hast no pity, oh son! on thyself, have pity on thy family and offspring.

Don't destroy thyself in sport, and take pity on thy own condition, and attend to these few words of advice of mine The first is this: take pity on thy own life and attend to the reformation of thy nature The colour of thy cheeks was fresh and red like the rose and the ruby, it has become yellower than turmeric! Restrain thyself from the lasciviousness which has made thee weak and emaciated, and do not hanker after it, for when life itself is in danger, no one can enjoy any pleasure

Couplets

A king should not be drunk or mad,
He should not, ever, in lusts indulge
A king should e'er a shepherd be
Alas! that a shepherd should e'er be drunk
When the shepherd is drunk with the red, red wine
The sheep in the stomach of the wolf will sleep
In the rules of empire, and of State,
Permanence in wisdom lies

The second counsel is this that you should refrain from slaying the Amīrs and Maliks, so that the confidence which the ministers and officials have in you may not be impaired There are these two men, viz Malik Nizāmuddīn, and Kawāmuddīn, who are ministers of mature understanding and experience You should select another man like these from amongst the Amīrs, and should associate yourself with these three, and consider each one of these one of the pillars of your greatness You should transact every business which will come up with the consent and advice of these Make over to one of these the Dewan of the Vazarat (i e the office of the Vazīr or chief minister), to the second, the Dewan of the Risālat (or the office of the secretary for foreign affairs), to the third, the Dewan of 'Arz (or the office of the secretary for petitions), and to the fourth, the Dewan of Insha (or the office of correspondence) Allow each of the three to have equal access to you, although their ranks, in consideration [of the importance] of their duties, may be different Do not give any of them so much power that it may bear fruit in insubordination and revolt The third advice is this: that every secret of State which you may have to reveal, you should disclose in the

presence of all the three Do not place so much confidence in any one of them, that the others may be disheartened The fourth counsel is this that you offer your prayers regularly, and fast in the month of Ramazān, so that owing to the non-performance of these two duties, ruin in this world, and in the next, may not befall you I have heard that one of the deceitful learned men of the age has, in order to please you, given you permission to take your meals during the fast of the Ramazān, and has said, that if you confer freedom on a prisoner of war, or give food to sixty poor men, it will absolve you of the sin of eating during the fast Have nothing to do with the sayings and doings of such learned men. Advice in religious matters should not be taken from greedy and avaricious learned men, who have made the world the object of their adoration Questions about the rules of religion should only be propounded to men who have turned their faces from the world, and in the eye of whose spirits riches and the goods of this world have become worthless" He said this, and burst out weeping and sobbing He then took Sultān Mu'izzuddīn in his arms and bade him adieu When he held him in his embrace, he said to him, in a whisper, "Get rid of Nizāmuddīn as soon as you can, for if he gets an opportunity, he will not let you live one day" He said this, and weeping, went back to his own pavilion That day he abstained from all food, and said to his confidants, "To-day I have said my last farewell to my son and to the kingdom of Dehli"

After that Sultān Mu'izzuddīn marched from Audh towards Dehli For a few days, he remembered his father's advice and instructions, and kept himself back from pleasures and dissipation In spite of the fact that the love of wine and women had become a second nature to him, and his boon companions tried by signs and suggestions to put the chain of dissipation in motion and incited him, he was prevented by his father's advice, which had become known to everybody, and by shame and modesty, and restrained himself. As the news of his convivial meetings, and the noise of his indulgence in pleasures and dissipation, had reached the various sides and quarters of the globe, bands of beautiful courtesans, and persons who made it their business to minister to the lusts of the rich, came to his court, and every day showed themselves in his neigh-

bourhood, after adorning themselves and making themselves ready for his companionship, and wanted to be of service to him As the Sultān had given away his heart for the society of these bands, and had gambled away his life for his desire for them, although he tried to remember his father's advice, yet from time to time the reins of his heart slipped away from his hand and from moment to moment the fire of desire blazed up In spite of himself, he cast stealthy glances on the faces and cheeks of the courtesans, and looked at them from the corners of his eyes It so happened that an artful young courtesan, who was at the head of the beauties of the age, and was the chief of the incomparable ones of the period, with an embroidered cap on her head, a gold-worked robe on her person, and a jewelled belt round her waist, mounted on a steed of Arab strain, came in front of the royal canopy at the time of starting, and showed a hundred blandishments and coquettish gestures She displayed her wonderful arts, and her graceful movements, which bordered on the region of magic, and recited this couplet with a dainty voice—

Couplet

If on my eyes, oh love ! thy foot thou'lt place.
My eyes on thy path will I throw, so thou mayest o'er them pass

After that, she said, "I believe that the opening lines of the ode are more appropriate to the circumstances of the case, but I cannot recite them out of respect for thee !" The Sultān said, "Recite them, and fear not " She sang—

Oh cypress of the Silvery hue ! to the desert dost thou roam,
A wondrous promise-breaker thou ! that leaving me thou wouldst go

The Sulṭān was so astonished and wonder-struck at the sight of her world-illuminating beauty, and the spectacle of her charming figure and gestures, that he forgot all his father's counsel on the instant He lost all control over himself, and stood on the road and talked with that breaker of vows He dismounted and called for wine, and halted at that very spot He arranged a meeting of his boon companions, and sat engrossed with the sight of her dancing. He then repeated this couplet

At night I wine renounce, for fear of the blandishments of the Fair
At dawn the face of Phœbe to the wine-cup doth me drag.

When that witty wanton heard this couplet from the mouth of the Sulṭān, she said in reply

My saint-alluring coquetry, a recluse of a hundred years,
Takes by the forelock of his head, and to the distant wine-shop drags

The Sulṭān was struck with surprise and wonder at the beauty of her intellect and the brilliance of her repartee He made her his cup-bearer After a show of humility and reverence, she said –

Although I'm fairer than the moon !
I'm yet a slave of the slaves of the king !

and filled the cup and placed it in the Sulṭān's hand The latter took it from her hand, and repeated these couplets to express his passionate love –

When the cup comes round to me, give it to my comrades here,
And pass me by, that on Phœbe's face my wondering eye I may fix
If thou wilt deign my cup-bearer to be, Oh love !
Who dare declare that wine is sinful and impure

He said this and drained the cup The Amirs and Maliks began once more to indulge in dissipation and debauchery The next day the Sulṭān started from that place He held convivial meetings at the different stations, and indulged in amusements and pleasures till he reached Dehli He took up his quarters in the castle of Kilokhari The citizens made great rejoicings on the return of the Sulṭān, and had feasts, and built ornamental domes The indulgence in pleasures, and feasting and rejoicing, became so universal in the days of Sultān Mu'izzudin, that in every lane and quarter of the town people drank wine publicly and held feasts. Care and anxiety left the heart of the people, and insouciance took their place When a few months had passed in this way, the Sulṭān became ill, and his great lasciviousness and constant drinking made him weak and feeble

At this time he wanted, according to his father's advice, to remove Nizāmuddīn, but he could not come to any wise determination in the matter, and on the spur of the moment said to him, "You should go to Multān, and attend to the affairs of that fief" Malik Nizāmuddīn knew that the Sultān wanted to get him out of the way, delayed in starting, and made various excuses But those who were near the Sultān's person, and who had always been anxious to encompass the death of Malik Nizāmuddīn, removed him, as soon as they became aware of the Sultān's intentions, by giving him poison.

Couplet

As he did not spare to shed the blood of men,
Time's self its sword in his life blood did imbrue

Those in power then sent for Malik Jalāluddīn Firoz, who was the Governor of Sāmānah, and had been the commander of the guards of the palace, from that fief, and appointed him to be the commander of the forces of the empire, and made him the feudatory of Baran, and conferred on him the title of Shāistah Khān They made Malik Āitamar Kujan the Barbak (the master of ceremonies), and Malik Āitamar Surkhah the Vakil-dar (the representative in the council) and the various offices were distributed anew among the nobles In the meantime, the Sultān's illness became worse He was seized with paralysis, was confined to his bed, and could not attend to any business The desire of seizing the empire entered the heads of all the great nobles, a madness seized every heart, and a vain ambition took possession of every breast Some of the Balbanī nobles, in gratitude for the favours they had received from the family, brought the son of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, who was still a mere child, out of the *haram*, and giving him the title of Sultān Shamsuddīn, placed him on the throne They erected the royal pavilions and tents on the Nāsirī Chabutara, and kept the young Sultān there The Amīrs and Maliks encamped round the pavilion Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, who was really past all treatment, was kept under treatment in the castle of Kilokhari

Malik Jalāluddīn Firoz Khaljī, who was the commander of the force encamped at Bahāpur with all the Khaljīs who formed a large body and mustered the forces Malik Āitamar Kujan, the

Barbak, and Malik Āitamar Surkhah the Vakil-dar, and all the Balbanī Amīrs, combined together, and determined that such of the nobles as were strangers, and were not real Turks, should be removed out of the way They made a list of their names The name of Malik Jalāluddīn Khaljī was in that list When the latter became aware of this, he collected his men, and brought together all the Khalj Amīrs and Maliks, and he also got some other Amīrs to join them At this time, Malik Āitamar Kujan, Barbak, mounted, so that he might induce Malik Jalāluddīn Firoz by false pretences to come (to their camp), and there assassinate him As Malik Jalāluddīn Firoz had become aware of this design, as soon as Malik Āitamar Kujan came to the door of the tent, he was dragged down from his horse and hacked to pieces

Couplets

Place not thy foot on the path of treachery,
For in the end into the snare thou'lt all,
Hast not, from the traveller on this path, thou heard,
That who so dug a well, into it he fell ?

And the sons of Malik Jalāluddīn, who were brave and courageous, went with five hundred horsemen into the royal pavilion, took Sultān Shamsuddīn from the throne and carried him, and the sons of the Malik-ul-Umra, to Bahāpur to their father They killed Malik Āitamar Surkhah, who was pursuing them, on the way As the notables and the common people of Dehli did not like that the Khalj should gain the mastery, they came out in large numbers, with the intention of assisting Sultān Shamsuddīn, and assembling together, in front of the Badāūn-Gate, determined to attack Malik Jalāluddīn Firoz But the Malik-ul-Umra turned them away, and dispersed them, in order to save his own sons, who were in the custody of Malik Jalāluddīn, and most of the Amīrs and Maliks joined the latter A Malik whose father had been killed by order of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, went into the castle of Kilokhari, and giving him, who had only a little life left in his body, a few kicks, threw him into the river

Sultān Mu'izzuddīn's reign lasted for three years and a few months

SULTĀN JALĀLUDDĪN KHALJĪ

I have seen in one of the authoritative histories, that the tribe of Khalj are the descendants of Kālij Khān, son-in-law of Chengiz Khān, and his story is this He had an unpleasantness with his wife, the daughter of Chengiz Khān. For fear of the latter, he had no alternative but to simulate softness and courtesy He was all along looking for a release, a means of escape, but could not find any At last when Chengiz Khān defeated and crushed Sulṭān Jalāluddīn on the bank of the river Sind, and having freed his mind of all anxiety about Irān and Turān, returned towards his own country, and at about the same time passed away, Kālij Khān who had carefully examined the hilly country of Ghur and Gharjistān and their strength and inaccessibility, settled down there with his family and tribesmen, who numbered about three thousand families As Chengiz Khān was dead, and none of his sons took any notice of his movements, he remained there· and his descendants multiplied As the Sulṭāns of Ghūr and its dependencies conquered Hindustān, the Khalj, owing to their being in the neighbourhood, came at different times into that country, and entered into service there, and attained to high rank The father of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn and the father of Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī Mandvi, who are among the great and successful Maliks and renowned Sulṭāns, were grandsons of Kālij Khān Kālij became Khālij by a change of letter, and by frequency of use became Khalj According to the author of the Saljuknamah (however) Turk, the son Japhet had eleven sons, one of these was named Khalj His descendants are called the Khalj

In short, Sulṭān Jalāluddīn set out from Bahāpur with a large following, and rode to the castle of Kilokhari, and for a few days he remained there as the deputy of Sulṭān Shamsuddīn Then in the beginning of the year 688 A H he ascended the throne He sent Malik Jhaju Kashli Khān, the nephew of Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn, to Karah, after conferring that territory on him The nobles who were on his side, as well as those who were hostile to him, did homage to him, willingly or otherwise. As the residents of the capital were, however, not well-disposed to him, he, mindful of this, did not go into the city, and did not sit on the throne, on which the Sulṭāns had all along sat He remained at Kilokhari, and ordered the Mu'izzi castle (i e the castle which

Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Kaikubād had commenced) to be completed; and laid out a new garden in front of it on the bank of the Jumna The Amīrs and Maliks also built houses there The foundations of a citadel of stone were laid, and in a short time, the citadel, and houses, and mosques, and a market were erected, and the place obtained the name of the new city As Sulṭān Jalāluddīn's government acquired stability, and the report of his piety, and patience, and modesty, and justice, and benevolence spread among men, the people of the city—young and old—all came forth, and rendered homage, and the Shaikhs, and the learned men, and the headmen of the various sects, received gifts and benefactions The charge of the different fiefs and the various court appointments were distributed among the nobles The eldest son of the Sultān received the title of Khān-i-Khānān, his second son of Arkali Khān, and his third son of Kadr Khān, and a parganah or territory was assigned to each The brother of the Sulṭān received the title of Baghrash Khān and was made the commander of the forces 'Alauddīn and Ulugh Khān, who were the two nephews and sons-in-law of the Sulṭān, became respectively the *Amīr buzurg* (the first noble) and the *Akhiryak* (the second noble); and Malik Ahmad Hab, the son of the Sultān's sister, the naib (deputy) and Barbak (master of ceremonies), and Malik Khurram, the Vakil-dar (representative of the sovereign in the daroar) Khwājah Khatīr became the Vazir (minister), and the Malik-ul-Umra, the Kotwāl. Repose and contentment now appeared among the people, high and low The Sultān then went into the city with great pomp and splendour, and with his army in brilliant array. He dismounted at the palace gate, and bowed down twice in prayer, and sitting on the throne of the Sulṭāns said, "For years I have bowed my head before this throne To-day I have been enabled to put my foot on it How can I sufficiently express my gratitude to God for this!" He then mounted his horse, and rode towards the ruby Kiosk, and there dismounted at the gate, as he had hitherto been accustomed to do Malik Ahmad Hab, Barbak, who was the Umdat-ul-Mulk (the support of the state) represented, with all deference, that the ruby Kiosk now belonged to the Sultān, and there was no reason why he should dismount at the gate The Sulṭān said that under all circumstances, one should show reverence to one's benefactor Malik Ahmad Hab then said, that the Sulṭān should reside in the Kiosk, which was

the royal residence The Sultān said in reply, that Sulṭān Balban had built it when he was a Khān, and it was now the property of his descendants; and he had no kind of right to it Malik Ahmad Hab replied, that such strictness was not possible in matters of State The Sulṭān answered, that he could not transgress the rules of Islām, and act contrary to what was right and just for the sake of temporary worldly expediency

Couplet

Can religion and reason e'er decree
That the wise, for this world, the next should sacrifice ?

He then went into the ruby Kiosk on foot He did not sit down at the place where Sultān Ghiāsuddīn used to sit, out of respect to the latter, and sat in the line which had been assigned to the Amīrs He then said to the Amīrs and Maliks "May worse evil befall the houses of Āitamar Kujan and Āitamar Surkhah ! for if they had not acted deceitfully and treacherously towards me, I would not have fallen into this danger, and should have passed the remaining days of my life performing the duties of a Khān or a Malik Now I cannot even imagine what the end will be ! Seeing that in spite of the power and grandeur of Sultān Balban, the length of his rule, and the greatness of his ministers and councillors, the empire did not remain with his descendants, will it remain with me? And after me, what will happen to my offspring and dependants ?" Some of the Amīrs present, who were wise and experienced, were saddened on hearing these words, and sympathized with him, others who were young and reckless, censured him, and said, "This man has just become a king, and he is already apprehending the decline of his rule The vigour and sternness which should always characterize a ruler of men cannot be expected of him " At the close of the same day Sulṭān Jalāluddīn returned from the city and went to Kilokhari and made that his capital

The year after the Sultān's accession, Malik Jhaju, nephew of Sulṭān Balban, who was the feudatory of Karah, raised the standard of hostility, and had prayers read, and coin struck, in his own name, and gave himself the title of Sultān Maghīsuddīn. Amīr Ali Sarjāndār, the Governor of Audh, who was called Hātim Khān, and all the Balbanī

Maliks who had fiefs in that quarter, combined with him He marched with a large army towards Dehli, as he hoped that the citizens, who disliked the rule of the Khaljīs, would befriend him Sultān Jalāluddīn, on hearing the news of this rebellion, left Khān-i-Khānān, his eldest son, as the Regent at Dehli, and started, accompanied by the old ministers and councillors, and at the head of a well-equipped army, to attack Malik Jhaju He made Arkali Khān, his second son, who was noted for his bravery and heroism, the commander of the advanced guard, and sent brave and well-tried warriors with him According to the orders he had received Arkali Khān crossed the Kalaskar[1] river with his army Malik Jhaju came from the other side, with all the Balbanī Amīrs and Maliks, and countless troops, and all the zamindars and renowned Rājāhs of that country, to oppose him, and a great battle took place, and he was defeated, and most of the commanders of his army were taken prisoners Malik Jhaju took shelter with one of the indigenous chiefs, but was taken prisoner by the local head-man, and was brought as a captive to the Sultān Arkali Khān mounted the prisoners on camels, and sent them to the Sultān, with iron collars and fetters on them When they were brought in that condition before the Sultān, and his eyes fell on them, he ordered that they should be dismounted from the camels, and the fetters should be removed He also ordered, that such of them as had been men of rank and consideration with Sultān Balban, should be taken to the *hamam* (baths) and should have their hands and faces washed They were then dressed in special royal robes and anointed with atar He then arranged a feast in his place, and invited them to it, and asked them to drink wine with him

Couplet

'Tis easy, evil with evil to reward
If man thou art, do good for evil done

They hung their heads down for shame, and were tonguetied with bashfulness The Sultān, in order to remove their agitation, said, "You drew your swords in the cause of your benefactor, and did what the

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[1] So in MSS A & B The lith ed has Kalakar and MS C Kalatalkar

salt you had eaten and the fealty you had sworn demanded This cannot be deemed to be blameworthy on your part" He ordered Malik Jhaju to be placed in a litter, and sent him to Multān; and he ordered that he should be confined in a house there, and should be treated with all honour, and provided with all articles of luxury and pleasure, which he might ask for Malik Ahmed Hab and all the Khalj Amīrs were displeased at the kindness which the Sulṭān had shown to the prisoners They pointed out to him that the generosity which he had displayed to this body of men, who deserved death, was contrary to the rules of empire, and nugatory of all principles of government For if, they argued, due punishment was not meted out to men who created disturbances and raised rebellions, and their blood was not shed, the desire of power, and the lust of empire, would enter the heads of all, and how many revolutions would take place ! The punishments which Sulṭān Balban inflicted on rebels, and the seas of blood which he shed, most of these things, they said, had passed before the eyes of His Majesty, and the dread of it had not yet been obliterated from the hearts of men Then, they said, that if they themselves had fallen into the enemies' hands, would the latter have left the name or any vestige of the Khaljīs on the face of the earth They argued, therefore, that not to punish them would be contrary to all sound policy

Couplets

'Tis better that the rebel's head should fall,
That a traitorous army should be scattered wide,
No fresh green twig will the cypress adorn
Till thou cuttest off the old and withered branch

The Sulṭān said in reply 'What you all say is right and accords with the rules of imperial policy But what can I do ? For seventy years have I lived like a Musalmān, and have never shed the blood of a Musalmān Now that I am old and have only a few years to live, I do not wish to imbrue my hand with a Moslem's blood, and gain for myself the name of a despot and tyrant And if we had fallen into their hands, and they had shed our blood, the burden of answering for it,

to-morrow, on the day of judgment, would have been on their shoulders and not on ours I have been for years one of Sulṭān Balban's servants, and the debt of gratitude for his favours is heavy on my shoulders I have taken possession of his kingdom It would be the height of baseness and injustice if, in addition, I slew his adherents and dependants." After the Sulṭān had returned from Badāūn he sent for 'Alauddīn, who was his son-in-law as well as the son of his brother, and who had been brought up by him, to Karah, after conferring that fief on him When he arrived in Dehli crowned with success and victory, the citizens erected ornamental domes and made rejoicings

Owing to Sulṭān Jalāluddīn's patience, and disinclination to cause pain, many of the Amīrs and Maliks said that he did not know how to rule a country, and govern an empire It is said that thieves and robbers were repeatedly seized, and brought before him. He bound them by oaths not to commit thefts again, and released them He used to say that although in a war he could rout an army, and could shed much blood, yet he could not order a man, who had been seized and brought before him, to be slain On one occasion, one thousand highway robbers were brought before him He did not order one of them to be executed, but put them all in boats, and sent them away to Lakhnauti. Fining and amercing, and imprisonment and torture, and greed for other people's wealth, which are the characteristics of despots and tyrants, were never perpetrated by him during the whole time of his sovereignty It is said, that some ungrateful wretches, in whose natures wickedness was ingrained, and who were utterly destitute of all manly feelings, held meetings in which they drank wine, and talked how they could bring about the downfall of the Sulṭān When the news of these gatherings reached him, he was not moved in any way, and said that men who were drunk, should not be held responsible for words which they might utter in their state of intoxication One day Malik Tājuddīn Kūjī invited some great Amīrs to his house, to a drinking party When they were all drunk they said, Sulṭān Jalāluddīn is not fit to be the king Malik Tājuddīn is the fittest person for the throne." They all swore allegiance to him One of them said, "I can finish him with this hunting knife", another, "I can cut off his head with this sword " The others bragged in the same way.

When the Sulṭān heard this he sent for them, and by way of a challenge he drew his sword from the scabbard and threw it down in front of them He said then "If any of you is man enough, he should take up this sword, and should stand up in front of me, so that he may know what real courage is" Malik Nasrat Sabbāh, who was a witty and fine-tempered man but who had himself uttered some nonsense at the meeting, said "Your Majesty knows that words uttered by drunken men in a state of intoxication have no meaning We, whom the Sulṭān has cherished and brought up like his sons, know that we will never have a King with patience, and forbearance, and dignity like his Therefore we cannot plot against him The Sulṭān will also find no loyal and faithful Maliks and Malikzādahs like us, and we know that he will not assent to our ruin and destruction" These words affected the Sultān, his anger subsided, he called for wine, and offered the cup with his own hand to Malik Nasrat Sabbāh At the same time he ordered the conspirators to go to their respective fiefs, and to remain there for some time

Couplet

The sword of patience sharper is than sword of steel,
Yea ! Better than a hundred hosts, it victory doth gain

In respect of offences committed by those who were near him, he did not inflict any corporal chastisement on the offenders, nor did he imprison them When he conferred a fief on any person he did not again take it away

It is said that at the time when he was the commander of Sultān Balban's guard, and held the fief of Sāmānah Maulānā, Sirājuddīn Sādī, who was one of the poets of the age, held a village among those included in the fief of Sāmānah, by way of subsistence allowance Sulṭān Jalāluddīn[1] demanded rent from the Maulānā, as he did in the case of other grantees The Maulānā was displeased at this, and wrote verses in praise of the Sultān (apparently either Ghiāsuddīn

[1] This anecdote has been given, in a somewhat confused style, in the original, owing to the author's insisting on giving the title of Sulṭān to Jalāluddīn, even before he ascended the throne

Balban or Mu'izzuddīn Kaikubad), and inserted in them some complaints against his officers Sultān Jalāluddīn appeared to pay no attention to the Maulānā, owing to his having many other things to attend to The Maulānā was grieved at heart, and wrote some satirical verses against Sulṭān Jalāluddīn, and gave them the name of Khaljnāmah At that time Sulṭān Jalāluddīn was still the Governor of Sāmānah The Khaljnāmah, which contained some bitter satire, reached the Sulṭān The Maulānā, fearing that the Sultān would try to have his revenge for the satire, left Sāmānah and took up his residence at another place About the same time the Sultān ravaged a village belonging to some Mundāhirs A Mundāhir confronted the Sulṭān, and inflicted a wound on his face, the marks of which remained till the day of his death When Sulṭān Jalāluddīn ascended the throne, Maulānā Sirājuddīn and that Mundāhir appeared before him, with halters round their necks The matter was reported to the Sultān He immediately sent for them, and took the Maulānā in his arms, conferred gifts and a robe of honour on him, fixed a pension for him, and ordered that he should from that time attend before the throne like other notables, and make his salutations He also granted favours on the Mundāhir

One day the Sultān said to Malkah-i-Jahān, his wife "When the great officers and judges come to the gate of the *haram* to offer their congratulations to you, tell them that they should request me that they might be allowed to describe me in the Khutbah as "the warrior of God" About that time the marriage of Kadr Khān, the youngest son of the Sultān, with a daughter of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, took place, and the great officers went to offer their congratulations They approved of the message (which Malkah-i-Jahān apparently sent to them) and said that as the Sultān had repeatedly drawn his sword in the wars with the Mughals and had fought with them, it was not only allowable, but even right and proper that he should be called "the warrior of God" When the great officers and judges again went to congratulate the Sultān on the first day of the month, and were honoured by being allowed to kiss his hand, Kāzi Fakhruddīn Bāklah, who was the most learned man of the age, dissimulated his real opinion, and represented to the Sultān by the mouth of some of the others, who were present,

that they should describe the Sulṭān in the Khutbah as "the warrior of God." The Sulṭān said, "I know Malkah-i-Jahān has asked you to suggest this, at my own request, but I thought over the matter at that very time, and came to the conclusion that I had not, at any time, waged war with the enemies of God, in His cause alone, without any admixture of a worldly object, and I repented myself of the intention which I had formed, and gave up the idea altogether."

At the time when Sulṭān Jalāluddīn was the commander of the imperial forces, he conferred many favours on Amīr Khusru, made him the keeper of the Kurāns and specially honoured him by granting him the white robe and belt, which were reserved for the great nobles. The Sulṭān mixed in a friendly way with the persons who were invited to his drinking parties, and did not require any elaborate observances from them, and treated them almost as equals. His companions at the convivial meetings were Malik Tājuddīn Kūji, Malik Fakhruddīn Kūji, Malik Izzuddīn Ghūri, Malik Karā Beg, Malik Nasrat Sabbāh, Malik Ahmad Hab, Malik Kamāluddīn, Abul Ma'ālī, Malik Nāsiruddīn Kuhrāmī and Malik Saiduddīn Mantakī. These Maliks were unequalled at that time for the sweetness of their natures, the elegance of their manners, and their courage and manliness. Tājuddīn 'Irāki Amīr Khusru, Mīr Hasan, Mūed Jājarmī, Mūed Dewānah, Amīr Arslan Kalāhī, Ikhtiār Bāgh and Bāki Khatīb were included among the courtiers, and each of these excelled in the composition of verses, and in the knowledge of history. The court of the Sulṭān was always adorned with sweet-voiced reciters of odes, like Amīr Khāsah and Hamīd Rājāh, and charming cup-bearers, like the sons of Haibat Khān, and Nizam Kharitadār, and incomparable musicians, like Muhammad Shāh Jangi and Fattuh Khān and Nasrat Khān. Amīr Khusru used to present new odes at the court of the Sulṭān, and rewards and favours were conferred on him.

Among the strange occurrences of that period, was the affair of Sidi Maulah. This matter may be briefly narrated in this way. A darwesh of the name of Sidi Maulah appeared in Dehli, and took up his quarters there. He opened the door of charity and alms giving on the face of the people. As he did not take anything from anybody, and he had no fixed pension or stipend, people were struck with wonder at

his excessive expenditure and his lavish gifts Many persons said that he was versed in alchemy and natural magic. He laid the foundation of a great Khānkāh; and spent large sums on it Most of the travellers by sea and land stopped in it, and every day his table was spread twice. A thousand maunds of flour, five hundred maunds of roast meat, and three hundred maunds of sugar were consumed daily; and all sorts and conditions of men attended the tables, and many people used to attend at the gate of the Khānkah Most of the Amirs and Maliks of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn became the disciples and friends of Sidi Maulah He practised great austerity, and confined himself to dry bread and pot herbs in the way of food He had no wife or slave girl He performed *namāz*, but did not attend the public *namāz* on Fridays, and he did not comply with the rules of meeting together for prayer, as had been customary from ancient times Before Sidi Maulah came to Dehli, he went to Ajodhan, and rendered service to Kutbu-i-Alam Farid-ul-Hak-Wad-din; may the mercy of God rest on him ! and he remained there for a few days At the time of bidding him farewell, the Shaikh said, "Shut on thy face the door of the coming of Kings, and have nothing to do with crowds, and hanker not after fame "

Couplet

Lay not thy heart on the fire ! for though 'twould make 'thy face aglow,
A time will come when 'twill a hundred granaries consume

But Sidi Maulah could not preserve himself

Couplet

A hundred tales the ear of greed doth hear,
But not a word doth any impression make !

He made Khān-i-Khānān, the eldest son of the Sultān, a believer in his powers and a disciple and called him by the name of son He also made Kāji Jalāl Kāshāni, one of the great men of the age, his friend and well-wisher Some of the Balbanī Maliks, who in the present reign had no fiefs, and no means of subsistence, were always in attendance and doing service at the Khānkāh; as they received various

benefits from Sidi Maulah Men began to think that he wanted to seize the country by the help and assistance of these persons. When this came to the knowledge of Sultān Jalāluddin he gave orders, and Sidi Maulah and his disciples were seized and brought before him Although the poor man asserted his innocence and took solemn oath, it was of no avail The Sultān ordered that a fire should be kindled on the plain of Bahāpur This was done, and the flames rose up to the sky He also ordered the learned and great men of the city to attend Then he ordered that Sidi Maulah and his adherents should be dragged into the fire, so that the truth, or the falsehood about him, might become patent The learned men of the day, who were present on the scene, represented to him that it was in the nature of fire to burn to make it the test of truth or falsehood was contrary to reason and forbidden by the law The Sultān having heard this from the learned men, desisted from his inhuman design But he sent Kāzi Jalāl, who was accused of creating disturbances, to Badāūn, to be the Kāzi there He sent away the other Maliks, whom he knew to be the well-wishers of Sidi Maulah, to distant parts of the country, and ordered some of them to be otherwise punished When Sidi Maulah was brought under arrest before the Sultān, the latter began arguing with him He replied, and no offence was proved against him, either according to the law or to reason The Sultān then turned to Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi Haidari, the chief of the Haidari Kalandars (Fakīrs or Monks), and exclaimed 'Oh Darweshes ! avenge me on this tyrant !' A reckless Kalandar of the name of Bahri jumped up, and struck Sidi Maulah some blows with a razor, and wounded him with a packing needle Arkali Khān, the second son of the Sultān, signed to his elephant-driver to drive the elephant over Sidi Maulah He did so, and made him a martyr Tradition says, that on the day that Sidi Maulah was killed, there was a storm, and the world became dark That year there was a drought, and there was a famine in Dehli, so that the Hindus, unable to bear the pangs of hunger, went in bodies, and threw themselves in the Jumna, and were drowned in the sea of destruction

In this year 689 A H the Sultān marched with an army towards Ranthambor, and left Arkali Khān, his second son, at Kilokhari, as his deputy, as his eldest son, the Khān-i-Khānān, was now dead.

Immediately on his arrival, he seized Jhāin,[1] and destroyed the temples there, plundered much wealth, and carried away much booty The Rājāh of Ranthambhor shut himself up in the citadel The Sultān besieged the fort for a few days, and then returned (to Dehli) He said, "The capture of the fort does not deserve that one man should die for it.

Couplet

The empire of the world, by my manliness, I swear,
Doth not deserve that a drop of blood on the earth should fall

Granted that I seize the fort and put these creatures of God to the sword, to-morrow, when the widows and orphans of the slaughtered men will come to me, and my eyes will fall on them, what will be my condition, and will not the taste of the capture of the fort be bitterer in my mouth than poison ?"

In the year 691 A H the Mughals of Chengiz Khān invaded Hindustān with a large army The Sultān set out with the mighty imperial forces to repel them When the armies approached each other and met, warriors eager for adventure engaged in several skirmishes The Mughal leaders, recognizing the superiority of the Sultān's troops, commenced negotiations The Sultān gave the name of son to the Mughal leader, who was a relation of Halāku Khān, and the latter called him father, and they met each other from a distance [2] Choice gifts and presents were sent from both sides The Mughal army then retraced its steps but Alghu, the grandson of Chengiz Khān, with some Mughal noblemen joined the Sultān They all became Musalmāns, and Alghu was honoured with the hand of one of the Sultān's daughters Ghiāspur was assigned to the Mughals for their residence, and its name was changed to Mughalpur, while the Mughals got the name of the Neo-Moslems

At the end of the year, the Sultān marched against Mandū[3] and

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[1] The lith ed has جهاے Jhāne and the three MSS جهاں جهابں and جهاں Jhan, Jhāban and Jhain respectively

[2] It would appear that the "father" and the "son" did not have much confidence in each other

[3] The place is called Mandu in the lith ed In the three MSS it appears as مدور هند مددر and هددر It is difficult to say what place is referred to It may be Mandu or Mandwar

ravaged and plundered the neighbouring country About the same time Malik 'Alāuddīn, the nephew of the Sulṭān, begged that he might have permission to march against Bhilsah and pillage those tracts He received the necessary orders, and went and ravaged the country and brought much booty for the Sulṭān's service He also brought two brass idols which had been the object of the worship of the Hindus of those parts and cast them down in front of the Badāūn Gate to be trampled upon by the people This achievement of Malik 'Alāuddīn earned the commendation of the Sulṭān, who raised him to a higher rank; and conferred many royal favours on him. He gave him the territory of Audh as an additional fief When Malik 'Alāuddīn found the Sultān to be so favourably inclined towards him, he submitted a representation, asking for permission to enlist additional troops, with the surplus revenue of his fiefs, so that he might with the aid and help of his old and new soldiers invade the territory of Chanderi and its vicinity, which contained an abundance of riches, and might bring much booty, and rise higher in the estimation of his Sovereign The Sulṭān at once granted the prayer, and Malik 'Alāuddīn bidding him farewell went from Dehli to Karah He had, however, suffered much vexation at the hands of Malkah-i-Jahān, his mother-in-law, and could no longer bear her tyranny and oppression, and he had never been able to bring his troubles to the notice of the Sulṭān, as Malkah-i-Jahān had very great influence over the latter He had, therefore, been thinking for some time that he would, by some pretext or other, go away to some place outside the Sultān's dominions, and take possession of the country, and live there As he had now got an opportunity, he at once took advantage of it, and having completely armed and equipped his old and new troops, started from Karah, leaving Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk, who was a special friend of his, as his deputy in Karah and Audh He marched towards Deogīr, but made a pretence of going to plunder and ravage the country round Chanderi He marched through Elichpur As there was no news from him for some days Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk wrote to the Sulṭān, in order to satisfy the latter that Malik 'Alāuddīn was engaged in plundering and ravaging the territory of Chanderi, and his petition containing the news of his victories would reach the throne in the course of a day or two The Sultān was satisfied

with this, as he had no knowledge of the trouble which Malik 'Alāuddīn had suffered at the hand of Malkah-i-Jahān He was his nephew and son-in-law, and had besides been brought up by him from his youth No suspicion of any perfidy from him, therefore, ever entered his mind At that time Rām Deo, the ruler of Deogīr, had gone away, with his son, to a distant place. When he heard that Malik 'Alāuddīn had entered the Deogīr territory, he met him with a large force of Rāys and Rānas Malik 'Alāuddīn routed that army, and conquered Deogīr In the end Rām Deo came and made his submission Forty elephants and some thousands of horses from Rām Deo's palace stables fell into Malik 'Alāuddīn's hands, and so much booty was obtained, consisting of gold and silver, and gems and pearls, and various kinds of goods and fabrics, as was beyond the count and estimation of the intellect As no news had been received of Malik 'Alāuddīn for a long time, the Sultān started towards Gwālior on an expedition of hunting and pleasure, and remained for some time in those parts Even before the receipt of Malik 'Alāuddīn's memorial (notifying his victory), a rumour arose in the Sultān's army that he had conquered Deogīr, and had obtained many elephants and horses, and an immense quantity of goods and riches, and was marching back towards Karah The Sultān was pleased on hearing this news, but the wise men of the age, knowing that Malik 'Alāuddīn had undertaken such an enormous enterprise without the Sultān's permission, and had acquired so much wealth and knowing also that he had such enmity with his haram (wife) and with Malkah-i-Jahān, could perceive by the eye of wisdom that he intended to rise and rebel against the Sultān, but they did not say this before the latter One day the Sultān called a private meeting of his confidential advisers, and consulted with them He asked them "'Alāuddīn is coming from Deogīr with all these horses, and elephants and booty what should I do? Should I remain where I am, or should I hasten to welcome him, or should I return to Delhi?" Malik Ahmed Hab, who was celebrated for his correct thinking and sound judgment, submitted that abundance of wealth, success in one's undertakings and the accomplishment of one's desires became the cause of pride and rebellion, and made a man, however intelligent and wise he might be, drunk and mad "The cheats and deluders of Karah,"

said he "who carried Malik Jhaju off from the path of loyalty, are now all assembled round him, and they incited him to go to Deogīr without the Sulṭān's orders Who knows what he has in his heart ? It would be wisest for the Sulṭān to go with all speed to Chanderi, so that he might arrive there before Malik 'Alāuddīn. When the latter hears that the Sulṭān is so near, he will not be able to complete his arrangements, and will be forced to come and pay his homage to the Sulṭān, and place the booty before the throne, either willingly or otherwise The Sultān should take his elephants, and goods and all his treasures, which might be the cause of his violence, from him, and should take them to Dehli If the Sultān considers this an insignificant matter and marches to Dehli without taking the proper measures, and if Malik 'Alāuddīn goes to Karah with so many elephants and horses, and such an immense quantity of treasure, which are the basis of greatness and empire, and there places all his arrangements on a right footing, the Sultān will have, in a manner, endeavoured to bring about his own destruction, and the ruin and desolation of his house

Couplet

He bringeth joy, and gladness, to the hearts of his foes,
Who listeneth not to the words of his true and loyal friends

The words of Malik Ahmad Hab did not commend themselves to Sultān Jalāluddīn He said, "Malik 'Alāuddīn is like my son, he has been brought up by me, he will certainly not turn his face from me, and will never do anything which would be contrary to my wishes " Then he turned his face to those who were in the assembly and said, "What do you all advise in the matter ?" Malik Fakhruddīn Kūjī, who, although he knew that the advice given by Malik Ahmad Hab was sound, still seeing that the Sultān was opposed to it, concealed his real opinion and said, 'The news of the return of Malik 'Alāuddīn, and of his having brought much booty, has not yet been confirmed either by his petition or by the testimony of trustworthy persons, in such a way that we may place any reliance or base any reasoning on it Supposing that the news turns out to be true, and we advance with our troops against him, and go and stand before him, as he went away without orders, it is not unlikely that a dread will overwhelm

his mind, and he will turn back from the place where he may have arrived, and will rush blindly away in some direction, and we will have to follow him, and that in the rainy season, which is near at hand, and we will have to go wherever he may have gone. It is a well-known proverb 'that one should not take off his stockings before one comes to the water' And supposing again that Malik 'Alāuddīn arrives in safety at Karah with his elephants and treasures and goods, and it becomes clear that a malicious and evil design has entered his head; may he not be easily disposed of by one assault of his Majesty's forces" Malik Ahmad Hab said, "If Malik 'Alāuddīn arrives in safety at Karah with the elephants and treasure, and crossing the Sarayu goes towards Lakhnauti, no one will then be able to do anything against him

Couplet

Do not thy enemy as insignificant despise !
For I have seen a small rock a mountain huge become !

The Sultān became angry on hearing this, and said, "Malik Ahmad Hab has always had an evil opinion of Malik 'Alāuddīn I have cradled the latter in my arms, and have made him my son It is possible that one of my sons should turn against me, but that he should turn away his face from me, that is absolutely impossible" Malik Ahmad Hab rose from his seat in the council, and made his lamentation, and recited this couplet

Couplet

When fate its dark face on a man doth turn,
No one can help and succour him at all

The Sultān praised Malik Fakhruddīn's wisdom, and returned to Dehli Immediately after that the news of the arrival of Malik 'Alāuddīn at Karah came, and his petition also arrived In it he stated 'I have brought, as the booty obtained in the expedition, thirty-one elephants, a number of horses, and quantities of gold and gems and pearls, and all kinds of goods and fabrics; and I wish to bring everything to your presence; but as I have been absent for a long time, and as I set out on

this expedition without your orders, a fancy has found its way into my mind, and into the minds of all your servants who were with me. If a farmān is issued which will give me and my companions some assurance of our safety, we would present ourselves at your gate without any anxiety about ourselves." He deceived Sultān Jalāluddīn by such stories, and at the same time made preparations for an expedition to Lakhnauti. He sent Zafar Khān to Audh, with orders to collect boats in the Sarayu, and he settled with his officers and ministers, that as soon as they would hear that Sultān Jalāluddīn had started from Dehli in the direction of Karah, they would cross the Sarayu, and enter the Lakhnauti country, and bring it under subjection and rule there. Sultān Jalāluddīn wrote an affectionate letter to him with his own hand, assuring him and his companions of complete safety, and sent it by the hand of two men who were in his confidence. When these men reached Karah, they found that Malik 'Alāuddīn had become altogether hostile to the Sulṭān, and he had also estranged all the Amīrs who were there from the latter, but Malik 'Alāuddīn kept such a strict watch on them, that they were unable to represent the true state of things to the Sultān.

When some time had elapsed after this, Malik 'Alāuddīn wrote a letter to his brother, Almās Beg, who was also the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultān, in which he stated, that as he had undertaken such an expedition without the permission of the Sultān, men of experience in worldly affairs had implanted a fear in his mind. But as he was the son as well as the slave of the Sulṭān, if the latter would come alone, by rapid marches, and would seize him by the hand, and take him to Dehli, he would gladly render service and homage, but if the Sultan would not do this, he would take poison, and destroy himself, or would wander away and be lost. Almās Beg submitted the letter for the perusal of the Sultān. The latter bade him go quickly and comfort Malik 'Alāuddīn, and said that he would soon follow him. Almās Beg immediately got into a boat, and set out as swiftly as wind on water. On the seventh day he arrived at the place where Malik 'Alāuddīn was. The latter rejoiced greatly and was happy at the arrival of his brother. He now determined finally upon his expedition to Lakhnauti, but those who were in his confidence, and were intimate with him, said that it would not be necessary for them to go to Lakhnauti, as Sulṭān Jalāluddīn, unable to resist his

desire for the elephants and the riches, would come to them that very rainy season They would then be able to make away with him there, and would then set about their work of conquest and empire This view appeared sound and just to Malik 'Alāuddīn As death was now so near Malik Jalāluddīn, he did not listen to the words of his sincere well-wishers, but set out in boats, with some of his special attendants and a thousand horsemen At the same time he sent Ahmad Hab with the army, and all the regal paraphernalia by land

Couplet

When one to advice of friend will not attend,
The gods above will penalty award

When the Sultān arrived at Karah on the 7th Ramazan, Malik 'Alāuddīn had already fully equipped his army and had crossed the Ganges, and encamped between Karah and Mānikpur On hearing the news of the arrival of the Sultān, he sent his brother Almās Beg to attend on him, and instructed him that he should try, by every deception he could think of, to effect a separation between the Sultān and his army, and to bring the former alone Almās Beg presented himself before the Sultān, and performed the ceremony of kissing the dust, and submitted 'If I had not, in accordance with the orders of the lord of the world, come at once, and had not comforted my brother, he would by this time have wandered away to some unknown place In spite of my assurances, however, there is still some fear in his heart, and if he sees your majesty, with so many armed horsemen, there is some likelihood that he would again become a prey to fresh hallucinations, and would again attempt to run away " The Sultān, believing his statement to be true, ordered that the horsemen who were with him should halt where they were He himself, with his personal attendants, went on ahead When he had gone a part of the way, that arch-deceiver, Almās Beg, loosened his lying tongue, and said, "My brother is now near at hand If he sees these men, who are with your majesty, armed and ready for any emergency, it is quite likely that, owing to the fancy and fear which have overwhelmed his mind, he may become despondent about your mercy and love" Then according

to the Sultān's orders, all his attendants threw down their weapons. When they approached the Ganges, those who were near the Sulṭān saw from a distance that the army of 'Alāuddīn was standing, ready armed and equipped, and awaiting as it were for an opportunity. They became sure about the treachery and perfidy of 'Alāuddīn, and knew what Almās Beg was about Malik Khurram, the Vakil-dar, said to Almās Beg "We believed your words and separated ourselves from our troops and divested ourselves of our arms Your army appears armed and ready for battle " Almās Beg said. "My brother wants to parade his army in battle-array, and ready equipped and armed, before the Sulṭān, and review it " The Sultān, in accordance with the saying that, when fate overtakes one, it makes him blind, did not think of their perfidy and treason, although it was manifest to young and old, and he even said to Almās Beg, "I have come, while fasting, all this way to see 'Alāuddīn, and he feels no pity for me, but sits in comfort in his boat and does not hasten forward to welcome me" The arch-deceiver, Almās Beg, said in reply· "My brother does not intend to meet your Majesty with an empty hand, he wishes to render you homage with the articles of his tribute, such as elephants and various beautiful things He has also arranged everything for your breaking your fast and wishes that your Majesty should do so in his house, so that he may be raised above his comrades and equals by that honour No thought of their perfidy passed through Sultān Jalāluddīn's mind, and he sat carelessly in the boat, reading the Kurān, till the afternoon of the 17th Ramāzān, when he reached the bank of the river 'Alāuddīn then came forward, and rendered homage, and fell at the Sultān's feet The latter stroked his cheek, as a token of his love and affection, and otherwise showed his kindness towards him He said, "I have reared thee up with so much care, and have made thee great, and always in my eyes thou hast been dearer to me than my sons How could I now think of doing thee an injury ?' He said this, and holding 'Alāuddīn's hand pulled him towards the boat At this time, Malik 'Alāuddīn made a sign to the men, who had been selected by him, and entrusted with the assasination of the Sultān Mahmūd Sālim, who was one of the baser people of Sāmānah, wounded the Sultān with his sword The latter on receiving the wound, ran towards his boat, and cried out "Oh ! wretched 'Alāuddīn, what

hast thou done ?" Ikhtiāruddīn Hur who had received many favours at the hands of the Sultān came from behind; and threw the Sultān down on the ground, and having cut off his head, took it to 'Alāuddīn They then took the head of the poor murdered king, round Karah and Mānikpur, on a lance; and then took it to Audh The special attendants of the Sultān, who were in the boat, were also murdered It has been handed down by a trustworthy tradition, that just before the time when Sultān Jalāluddīn came to Karah, Malik 'Alāuddīn went to pay his respects to Sheikh Kurk Majzub (the absorbed), who is buried in the town of Karah, and performed service like a supplicant The "absorbed" lifted up his head and said

Couplet

Whoever doth with thee wage war,
His head in the boat, his body in Gang !

In short they raised the canopy of Sultān Jalāluddīn over the head of Malik 'Alāuddīn and proclaimed him emperor But the people who were associated with him in the assassination of Sultān Jalāluddīn were overtaken in a short time by great calamities, and fell into the lowest depths of misery Mahmūd, the son of Sālim, became afflicated with leprosy after a year, and his limbs shrivelled up and fell into pieces Ikhtiāruddīn Hur became mad and in his agony yelled out, and screamed, "Sultān Jalāuddīn has a sword in his hand, and is cutting off my head !" The ungrateful Malik 'Alāuddīn, himself, although for a time he reigned with prosperity, and did whatever he wished to do, yet in the end Providence did not fail to mete out to him his just punishment, and avenged itself on him, and neither the name nor any vestige of his descendants remained in the world !

Couplet

The mansions of creation are not at random ranged,
The earth, and all the sky, are not without a Ruler Great !
Bethink ! Oh thou with wisdom blest ! how time doth ever work,
That what thou dost will ever meet with its recompense due

When the news of the martyrdom of Sultān Jalāluddīn reached Malik Ahmad Hab, who was the commander of the army, he turned back from the place where he was and went to Dehli Malkah-i-Jahān the *haram* (wife) of the Sultān, owing to her foolishness, placed her youngest son, Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm, who was in his first youth, and had not yet reached man's estate, and had no experience of rule and government, in great haste on the throne, without consulting the great nobles She left Kilokhari, and came to Dehli, and took up her quarters in the Green Kiosk, and distributed the various high offices, and the great fiefs among the Amīrs and Maliks Arkali Khān, who was the true son and successor of the Sultān, and possessed kinglike accomplishments, was afflicted in heart on hearing this news He remained at Multān and did not come to Dehli Malik 'Alāuddīn marched towards Dehli in the very heart of the rainy season, and reached the bank of the Jumna by successive marches He so enamoured the hearts of the people with his gold and riches, that every one became favourably inclined towards him, and the hostility which had taken possession of their hearts on account of the assassination of Sultān Jalāluddīn became completely obliterated They say—

Couplet

Liberality is alchemy, for the copper of vice,
Liberality panacea is, for evils all

Every day Malik 'Alāuddīn filled a ballista with gold, and scattered it among his soldiery Every one who entered his service received twenty or thirty for every ten (coins) of the current wages of the time. In this way he captured the hearts of the people

Couplet

If thou dost want to greatness to attain, make generous thy heart [1]

It is related that when he arrived at Badāūn, he mustered his troops; and they came to sixty thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers The

[1] The second line is given in the lith ed as بدی کدی باشد , سر کدسه and in the three MSS as سر کدسه ده درگ کدی باشد In either case I cannot make any sense

Jalāli Amīrs and Maliks came from all sides, and joined 'Alāuddīn, being allured by his gold and the high salaries which he offered Malkah-i-Jahān, after her hopes had been ruined, summoned Arkali Khān, but he sent word that things had now gone too far for any remedy

Couplet

A spring, at its start, with a bodkin can be easily stopped !
When once it is full, on an elephant you can scarcely cross !

Malik 'Alāuddīn became strengthened in his resolution on hearing this news, and crossed the Jumna at the ferry of Kath and encamped on the plain of Jūd Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm also arrayed his troops in front of him, and then made a feint of retiring At night most of the Jalāli Amīrs deserted him, and joined Malik 'Alāuddīn When the former found that matters had passed beyond remedy, he took his mother, and Malik Rajab and Kutbuddīn 'Ului, and Ahmad Ilab and a few other who yet remained true to their salt, and took the road to Multān

The period of Sultān Jalāuddīn's rule was seven years and some months

Sultān 'Alāuddīn Khaljī

He ascended the throne at Dehli in the year 695 A H He conferred the title of Ulugh Khān on his brother Almās Beg, that of Nasrat Khān on Malik Nasrat Jalesari, that of Zafar Khān on Malik Hazabruddīn, and that of Ali Khān on Sanjar, his brother-in-law, who was the President of his Council He raised such of his friends, as were not Amīrs already, to that rank, and he conferred higher ranks and larger fiefs on those who were He gave large sums of money to his officers and commanders, so that they might enlist new soldiers His army thus became a very large one When he encamped with his army on the plain of Sirī, the high and the low of the capital came to render him homage, and to offer their congratulations Prayers were read and coins struck in his name, and the other royal ceremonials were duly performed Malik 'Alāuddīn entered the city with regal pomp and splendour, and sat on the imperial throne, and assumed the title of Sultān 'Alāuddīn From that place he went to the ruby

Kiosk and made that the seat of his empire. The citizens had feasts, and erected ornamental domes; and the lanes flowed with wine, and people took to sports and pleasure Owing to the pride of wealth and the intoxication of youth, Sultān 'Alāuddīn was lavish in dissipations and pleasures, and he made the people loyal, and attached them to his throne, by his great largesses and gifts He honoured every one with a post and a title, and distributed the parganas and provinces (among the nobles). Khwājah Khatīr, who was famous for his personal virtues and accomplishments, was honoured with the appointment of *Vazir* Kāzi Sadruddīn 'Arif, who had the title of *Sadr-i-Jahān,* became the chief Kāzi of the empire, and the titles of *Sayyad Ajall* (the most glorious Sayyad) and the *Sheikh-ul-islām* (the chief priest) were conferred on him The post of *Khatib* (preacher) was confirmed to the former *Sayyad Ajall* who had been both *Khatib* and *Sheikh-ul-islām* The office of *inshā* (correspondence) was entrusted to 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Hamīdduddīn, and Malik 'Izzuddīn, who was adorned with physical and spiritual excellence, was specially honoured by being placed near the Sultān's person Nasrat Khān, who had been the deputy of the empire, was made the *kotwāl* (superintendent), and Malik Fakhruddīn Kuji was appointed the dārogha (inspector) of the capital Zafar Khān was appointed to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, Malik Abāji Jalāli received the post of the Tājirbegi (Minister of Commerce) and Malik Huran bar that of Naib Barbegi (Deputy Master of Ceremonies) Malik Alā-ul-mulk, the uncle of Zia Burni, the author of the Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhī, was entrusted with the fiefs of Karah and Audh The post of the Deputy Vakil-dar (Deputy representative in the Council) was conferred on Malik Junai Kadīm, and that of the naib (deputy) and Khwājah (superintendent) of the city of Baran on Mued-ul-Mulk, the father of the aforementioned Zia All properties and trusts were confirmed to deserving people, and other stipends were granted to them, in the way of maintenance allowances The whole of the troops were made happy that year, with a grant of six months' pay in addition to their usual allowances Ease and happiness made their appearance among all classes of people, and the great crime of the assassination of Sultān Jalāluddīn was concealed from the eyes, and obliterated from the minds, of the people

After Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had become firmly established on the throne of Dehli, he in consideration of the maxim—

Couplet

While the head of the claimant on his shoulder stands,
The kingdom wears rebellion as a garb

considered that the destruction of the sons of Sultān Jalāluddīn, who were at Multān, was the one affair which most urgently demanded his attention He accordingly nominated Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with forty thousand horsemen for this duty They marched accordingly and besieged the town. After two months the Kotwāl of Multān, and the other nobles who were there, deserted Arkali Khān and his brothers, and coming outside the town, had interviews with Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khan. The Sultān's sons, in great distress, then came to Ulugh Khān, after obtaining assurances of safety through Shaikh Ruknuddīn (may God make his grave holy!) Ulugh Khān received them with all honour, and allotted places for them near his own pavilion, and sent a letter, announcing his victory, to Dehli They read the letter from the pulpits, and erected domes, and struck the drum of joy Then Ulugh Khān returned towards Dehli, with the sons of Sultān Jalāluddīn, and the Amīrs and Maliks who had been on their side On the way, Nasrat Khān, who was deputed for the purpose, from Dehli, met Ulugh Khān, and drew the pencil (for blinding them) over the eyes of Sultān Jalāluddīn's sons, of Alghu, his son-in-law, and of Malik Ahmad Hab, the *naib Amir Hājib* (Deputy Lord Chamberlain), and took possession of their wealth, and their retinues The two hapless princes were kept imprisoned at Hānsī, and the two sons of Arkali Khān were martyred, and Ahmad Hab, and the wives of Sultān Jalāluddīn, and those of his sons, were brought to Dehli, and imprisoned there

In the second year after the accession, Nasrat Khān was appointed Vazīr, and Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk was summoned from Karah to come with the nobles and the treasure, which were there, and the post of the Kotwāl of Dehli, which had been held by the Malik-ul-Umra, was entrusted to him Nasrat Khān then commenced to resume the estates, which the Sulṭān had at the time of his

accession, for the sake of expediency, distributed among the Jalālī Amīrs, and by this means, brought an enormous sum into the Treasury.

The same year the Mughal armies crossed the river Sind, and entered Hindustān Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn sent Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān, with other nobles, to attack them The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Jārnmahmūr[1] In the battle which ensued, the Mughals were defeated and large numbers of them were slain, and a number taken captive When the news of the victory reached Delhi, the citizens struck the drum of joy, and erected domes, and had festive gatherings After this, all the Jalālī Amīrs, who had treacherously deserted their former master, and had joined Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and had received from the latter high posts and great fiefs, were seized, some of them were blinded, and a few were imprisoned in distant parts, and their goods and estates were brought into the treasury, and their houses and families were ruined Of all the Jalālī nobles, Malik Kutbuddīn 'Alai, Malik Nasīruddīn, Shahnah-i-Pīl (the keeper of the elephants), and Malik Amīr Jamāl, the father of Kadir Khān, who had never turned their faces from the sons of the Sultān, and had never taken anything from Sultān 'Alāuddīn, remained in safety, and did not receive any injury By means of the above-mentioned forfeitures, Nasrat Khān realized a *karor* in the course of the year, and paid the amount into the Treasury

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[1] جار منجور in the lith ed and جار مهجور and جار منصور in the MSS In the printed edition of the Tārīkh Firozshahī of Ziā Barnī (as translated in Elliot's history) the name is Jālandhar, but in the MSS Jadwa o Manjur and Jurat Mahud (see Elliot, vol iii, p 162) In a note, by Mr T W Tolbort I C S, to a translation of portions of the Tārīkh-i-Firozshahī by Major Fuller (see Journ A S B, pp 43, etc) containing a synopsis of the Mughal invasions, which took place in the reign of 'Alāuddīn, according to (1) Ziā-i-Barnī, (2) Nizāmuddīn Ahmad Harawi, (3) Badāūnī, and (4) Ferishtah, the scene of this battle is given as Jarī Manjūr according to (1), Jāran Majhur in Sind according to (2) Jāran Manjūr according to (3), and Lahore according to (4) There is nothing about Jaran Majhur being in Sind in the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, but in one of the MSS the Mughals are said to have invaded Sind on this occasion, while on the lith ed and in the other MSS the word is Hind and not Sind Ferishtah calls the Mughal commander Amīr Daud, though none of the previous historians had so named him

In the third year after the accession, the Sultān sent Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān, with large armies, to invade Gujrāt They ravaged and plundered Nahrwālah, and all the cities of the province Rāy Karan, the Governor of Nahrwālah, fled, and joined the ruler of Deogir in the Dakin, and his wives and daughter (who was named Devalrāni) with his treasures, and elephants, and all he had, fell into the hands of the army Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān also brought the idol, which the Brāhmans of Somnāth had set up, and were worshipping, in place of the one which Sultān Mahmūd had broken to pieces, to Dehli, and placed it where the people would trample upon it Nasrat Khān also went to Kambāyat and took from the merchants, who resided there, and had much wealth, such quantities of riches, and gems, and other beautiful things, as were beyond all calculation He also obtained, by violence from his master, Kāfūr Hazārdināri (whom Sultān 'Alāuddīn, on account of the attachment which he formed for him, afterwards made the Nāib-i-Mulk, i e deputy governor of the kingdom), and sent him to the Sultān When Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān, after plundering and ravaging Gujrāt, were returning with an enormous quantity of booty, they demanded and exacted with great rigour and violence from the soldiery, the fifth part of the booty taken by them, and carried their exactions beyond all bounds Some of the Amīrs, who were called the Neo-moslems, joined with others, who had also suffered much on account of the exactions, and attacked Malik 'Izzuddīn (the brother of Nasrat Khān), who was the Amīr-i-Hājib of Ulugh-Khān, and after murdering him, entered the pavilion of Ulugh Khān The latter got out by another door, and took shelter in the pavilion of Nasrat Khān The nephew (sister's son) of Sultān 'Alāuddīn was sleeping in the pavilion The hostile Amīrs, thinking that he was Ulugh Khān, killed him Nasrat Khān then called to gather his men quickly, and attacked them, and they dispersed in different directions Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān abandoned further enquiry about the booty, and went with the riches, the elephants, and the various kinds of goods, which they had obtained, to Dehli Sultān 'Alāuddīn had the wives and the children of the nobles, who had taken part in the disturbance, seized, and inflicted various punishments on them Nasrat Khān, in revenge for the murder of his brother, made over the women of the families of the

persons who had caused the murder, to some sweepers, and he ordered that the infants should be brutally murdered, by being hurled against the women. Before this it had not been the custom in Dehli to punish women and children for the offences to their relatives.

This year, a Mughal of the name of Saldi[1] and his brother came, and took possession of Siwistān Zafar Khān was sent with a large army against them, and this victorious general besieged Siwistān: and in a short time conquered it, and sent Saldi, and his brother, and their families and children, and the other Mughals, who were with them, with collars round their necks, to Dehli At the end of the same year, Kutlagh Khwājah, and his son, with a few thousand Mughals came from Mawara-un-Nahr to conquer Hindustān They crossed the Indus, and as they came to conquer the country, they did not commit any injury or depredation on the villages and towns which fell on their route, as they considered them to be part and parcel of their kingdom They encamped in front of Dehli, and commenced a siege As an immense number of people, from the different towns and places, in the neighbourhood came into the city, for fear of the Mughals, the place was so crowded that there was no space for standing or sitting in the mosques, and lanes and markets and in various quarters of the city The people were in great distress owing to the overcrowding, and the roads for importing grain and provisions were closed, and everything became dear Sultān 'Alāuddīn summoned the Amirs and Maliks from the different parts of the empire, and having reinforced and equipped the army, came out of the city with regal pomp and splendour, and encamped in Sirī, and left Malik Ala-ul-Mulk, the Kotwāl of Dehli, behind, for the protection of the city and the treasures and for watching the *haram* (the apartments for the ladies of the palace) It is said that some of the Amirs represented (to the Sultān) that war was always attended with danger, and that a stick had two ends (i e it might hit either party), attempts should therefore be made,

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[1] Ziā-i-Barnī describes (see Elliot, vol iii p 165) how Saldi took the fort of Siwistān, and how Zafar Khān again took it from him Badāūnī does not mention this invasion of the Mughals Ferishta calls the Mughal commander Chaldi Khān

as long as possible, to remedy matters by stratagems, and a battle should be avoided.

Couplet

Though thou may'st have an elephant's strength and a lion's claws,
Peace, Oh my friend ! is always better far than war !

Sultān 'Alāuddīn said, "Empire, and abstention from war, cannot go together "

Couplet

He who the Emperor's crown doth wear,
His head, like a gage, doth ever throw !

"It is not becoming, also," he said, "that a king should take shelter in a fort " He made preparations for a battle and raised the standard of conflict Kutlagh Khwājah, on his side, also laid the foundations for a struggle and displayed great manliness and bravery Zafar Khān, who commanded the right wing, attacked the Mughal army, threw it into confusion, and routed it, and the Mughals fled Zafar Khān pursued them a distance of eighteen *karohs* Ulugh Khān, who commanded the left wing, did not, on account of a grudge[1] which he bore him, join in the pursuit, but let him go on alone Suddenly some of the Mughal nobles, who were lying in ambush on the way, saw that Zafar Khān had gone on alone and there were no troops, behind him, to support him They came upon him from behind, and surrounding him from all sides, hamstrung his horse He then fought bravely on foot Although Kutlagh Khwājah attempted to take him captive, he could not do it At last he ordered that his men should shower arrows on him, and thus they martyred him They also slew the other Amīrs who were in his detachment Kutlagh Khwājah did not that day draw rein till he had covered thirty *karohs*, for fear of the prowess

[1] Ziā-i-Barnī (see Elliot, vol iii, p 165) says, that it was Zafar Khān's bravery, in conquering Siwistān from the Mughals, which made both the Sultān and Ulugh Khān jealous and afraid of him 'Alāuddīn was thinking how he could get rid of him, one of his plans was to send him to Lakhnauti, where he might be left, to send elephants and tribute to the Sultān, while another was to put him out of the way by poison or by blinding

of the Hindustānis, and went back to his own country with all speed. The name of Zafar Khān became proverbial among the Mughals for bravery and for putting all army into confusion, so that if a horse showed any disinclination to drink the water given to it, they would say "perhaps it has seen Zafar Khān." Sultān 'Alāuddīn, who both envied and feared the courage and bravery of Zafar Khān, deemed his martyrdom a second victory, and came back to Dehli from Kilī and made rejoicings, and had festive gatherings, and gave himself up to pleasures and enjoyments.

As during these three years most of his undertakings had ended in accordance with his wishes, and owing to his having many wives he had many children, and there was no rival claimant left to the throne, he felt a desire for performing wonderful feats and exploits. Among these one was this, that as the holy Prophet, may be blessing and peace of God be on him! had by his own strength and greatness produced the Law, and had perfected and confirmed it by the help of his companions, so he with the strength and energy of his four friends, viz. Ulugh Khān, Nasrat Khān, Zafar Khān[1] and Alp Khān, should establish a new Religion and Law, so that his name might remain on the page of time till the day of judgement. In his drinking parties, and private conferences, he talked on this subject with the Amīrs and Maliks, and asked them in what way, and by what means, he should discover the new religion, which should, even after his death, be current, and be held in honour among the nations of the world. A second insane project, which the spectacle of his wealth, and treasures, and armies, and such things produced in his mind, was this, that he should entrust (the government of) Dehli to one of his trusted adherents, and should himself engage, like a second Alexander of Rūm, in the conquest of the countries comprised in the inhabited quarter of the world, and he ordered that he should be called the second Alexander in the public prayers, and the same title should, also, be imprinted on the coins. His courtiers and the companions in his festive gatherings, knowing by experience how rough and stern he was in his temperament,

[1] Zafar Khān was still alive, as is expressly mentioned by Ziā-i-Barnī (see Elliot, vol. iii, p. 171).

professed to acknowledge the truth of his absurd statements, and lauded him for his lofty spirit, and his high-soaring ambition. Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk, the Kotwāl of Dehli, on account of the fact that he was very fat, went to salute him only on the 1st of each month, and used to join in his drinking parties.

On one of these occasions, when, following his usual custom, he went to the Sulṭān, and joined the party, Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn asked his advice about these two projects. 'Ala-ul-Mulk having introduced his observations by well-weighed words, and delightful anecdotes, impressed it on the Sultān's mind, by arguments based on reason and history, that it would be best to abandon the idea of founding a Law, as the result of such an attempt would be the ruin of his rule and empire

Couplet

As far as I can judge, he thy well-wisher is !
Who says to thee 'Yonder a thorn is in thy path '

Sultān 'Alāuddīn after much thought, and deliberate cogitation, said "What thou, hast said is all just, and in accordance with the real truth of the matter ! It would be better that, after this, such words should not fall from my lips But as regards my second project, what dost thou say? Is that also a mistake, or is it right ?" Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk said "This project of the Sulṭān testifies to his noble spirit Former monarchs have also undertaken such conquests. The lord of the world can certainly bring the countries, comprised in the inhabited quarter of the world, under subjection to him, by his own bravery and prowess, and by the power of his armies and his treasures, but when he will leave Dehli, and go into strange countries, and remain there for a long time, who is there who can act as regent in his absence ? Again, after that, when he returns to Dehli, or goes to some other country, no one can say that he will find those, whom he should have left behind, in the newly-conquered realms, still faithful to him, and those countries still under his sway. For these times are not to be compared to those of Alexander, as in those earlier times, fraud and perfidy and breach of engagements were less common The men of that period, since when ages have elapsed, when they entered into an

engagement, did not break it, either on account of the distance of place, or of the efflux of time Besides Alexander[1] had a Vazīr like Aristotle, who had made the common people, as well as the great men of Rūm, in spite of its great extent, all contented with and full of trust in him, without the aid of any army or treasures. Owing to his sound judgment, and great wisdom, the conquest of other countries was easy to his master, and during the period of the latter's absence, which extended to two and thirty years, there was no kind of calamity in the country of Rūm, owing to the wise policy of that philosopher When Alexander, after completing the conquest of the world, returned to the country of Rūm, he found the inhabitants all loyal and devoted to him If the Sultān can repose the same trust in his Amīrs and rayyats as Alexander did, this undertaking, the idea of which has entered his mind, is quite right and advisable, and not to attempt it would be contrary to sound policy" Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, after careful consideration, said to 'Alā-ul-Mulk· "If I attend to these considerations which thou hast urged, and make no attempt to conquer the world, but content myself with the kingdom of Dehli, then of what use are my army and my treasures, and what advantage do I derive from them, and how should I obtain the name of a conqueror of the world, except which I have no other object ?" Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk kissed the ground of service, and said in reply· "The Sultān has two such tasks, at present, before him, that if he should employ the whole of his army and treasures in carrying them out, they would barely suffice The first of these is the conquest of certain cities in India, such as Rantambor and Chitor, and Chanderi and Mālwa, and to the east as far as the river of Audh or the Sarayu, and the Siwalik as far as the Arabian Sea If these countries which are the refuge of refractory people and the asylum of robbers come under your rule, the whole of the plains of Hindustān will become free from all disturbances and danger. The second task is the closing of the door against the Mughals. The forts which are situated along the path of the Mughals, such as Dibālpur, Multān and Sāmānah, should be

[1] This is a rather curious and original version of the history of Alexander the Great

strengthened and completely equipped After these two tasks would have been accomplished, it would be possible for the Sultān to rest in his capital of Dehli with a calm mind, and to send his loyal servants, with well-equipped armies, in various directions, so that they may bring distant countries under his sway, and in this way the name of your majesty as a conqueror, and your fame as a mighty ruler, may be blown about the universe, but this is possible only if the Sultān refrains from excessive drinking and continual hunting and constant immersion in pleasures " When Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn heard the remarks quoted above, he praised and belauded the sagacity of the advice, and the beauty of the policy, and bestowed on Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk a gold-embroidered robe[1] which had the figures of lions worked in it, and a valuable belt, and ten thousand tangahs and two steeds with jewelled saddles and bridles, and two villages, as a reward, and the other nobles, who were in the Council, were delighted with the observations, and every one of them sent him a few thousand tanghas and two horses, and they all praised his wisdom

As Rantambor was close to Dehli, and Hamīr Deo, the grandson[2] of Pithora, ruled there with great power, Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn determined to conquer it first He summoned Ulugh Khān from Sāmānah, and nominated him for the command of the army, and ordered Nasrat Khān, feudatory of Karah, to accompany him They went and seized Jhāin, and beseiged the citadel of Rantambor and made every effort to capture it Suddenly a stone, hurled from inside the fort, struck Nasrat Khān, and slew him When Sultān 'Alāuddīn heard this he started for Rantambor On arrival at Tahlit[3] he halted there for a few days, and every day he went to the neighbouring plains to hunt[4] One day he went, according to his custom, to hunt, but it became

[1] According to Ziā-i-Barnī (Elliot, vol iii, p 171) the gold waistband weighed half a *man*

[2] Hamīr Deo could not have been the grandson of Pithora, who was killed in 1192 A D, one hundred and seven years before the present invasion of Rantambor Nabsah, the word used to express the relationship, probably means only a descendant

[3] The name of the place is given as Tahlati in the lith ed, but in the MSS. it appears to be Tahlit It is called Tilpat in Elliot's History (vol iii, p 172)

[4] The words used appear to be Shikar Kamarghah I can't find what Kamarghah means, but Kamarghāh means hunting in a closed ring which is formed for kings and other great men to enjoy the chase therein In Elliot's translation of Ziā-i-Barnī

late, and he could not reach his camp, and remained outside. The next day he ordered the men to make the ring, and he with a few others went to a secluded place and sat down on a hillock, so that when every thing should be ready, he might begin the hunt. By chance Akat Khān, who was his nephew, and held the post of Vakil-dar, came to the place with a few neo-Moslem horsemen, who were his old retainers, and attacked him As they shot arrows at him, he fell down from the mound to the lower ground, and sheltered himself behind the mound. He, however, received two wounds, from the arrows, on his arm Akat Khān wanted to dismount, and cut off the Sultān's head, but the band of Pāiks who were round the Sultān, ran forward and putting on the garb of acquiescence and homage, assured him that the Sultān was already dead Akat Khān accepted their word, and went in all haste to the camp He rode to the royal pavilion and sat on the throne He shouted that he had slain the Sultān. The people believed that he was telling the truth Every one went to his own post and station, and stood near him Every one congratulated him, and rendered him homage The heralds made proclamations, the readers recited the Kurān, and the musicians sang Akat Khān, who was young and mean spirited, wanted immediately to go into the haram (the apartments of the ladies) Malik Dinār, the keeper of the haram, who was seated at the door of the haram, with his men ready and armed, did not let him do so He said, "I will not let thee enter the haram till thou showest me the Sultān's head" When Sultān 'Alāuddīn recovered his senses, he bound up his wounds, and knew that Akat Khān had acted in concert with some of the Amīrs He wanted to go to Ulugh Khān at Jhāin with the fifty or sixty men with him, and do whatever might be right or proper in concert with him Malik Hamid-uddīn, who was the son of the Umdat-ul-mulk and was himself the naib Vakil-dar and one of the wisest men of the age, asked the Sultān to desist from going to Jhāin, and advised him to go at once to his pavilion He said, "Akat Khān has not yet established himself on a firm footing As soon as the soldiery will see the royal

(vol iii, p. 172) it is called a Margāh Shikār Kamarghah is, however mentioned in the Akbarnamah

canopy, they would flock to it; and Akat Khān's assembly would break up in confusion, but if there is any delay, it would be difficult to remedy this mischief." The Sultān mounted immediately, and hastened towards his pavilion; every trooper, who saw him on the way, joined him, and by the time he reached the pavilion, about five hundred men had gathered round him. When he got near the camp, he mounted a hillock, and showed himself Akat Khān's assembly broke up in confusion, and every one ran towards the Sultān. Akat Khān mounted and rode away towards Afghānpur The Sulṭān got down from the mound; entered his pavilion; and sitting on the throne, held a public reception He then deputed Malik 'Izzuddīn Tughān Khān, and Malik Nasīruddīn Nūr Khān, to pursue Akat Khān They came up with him in Afghānpur, cut off his head, and presented it to the Sulṭān, and it was carried round the camp

Couplet

No one, with bragging, should on the seats of the mighty sit,
Till he, with glory's mantle, should himself have adorned.

The Sultān ordered his brother, who was called Kutlagh Khān, and some of his special friends, to be executed; and he ordered others to be imprisoned and sent to distant forts He then left that place, and coming to Rantambor besieged it, and employed all the various measures to capture it

At this time news came that Umar Khān and Mangu Khān, who were both of them nephews of the Sultān, had revolted at Badāūn The Sultān sent some of the nobles against them The latter accordingly went, and seizing them, brought them before him He ordered that the pencil (for blinding) should be drawn across their eyes, and ordered the destruction of their families

Couplet

If 'gainst thy benefactor thou wouldst rise,
If high as the sky thou art, thou'lt headlong fall

After this, while the siege of Rantambor was still going on, a man of the name of Hājī Moulā, who belonged to the tribe of the Malik-

ul-Umrā,[1] thinking it an opportune moment, laid the foundations of a disturbance in concert with some wretched men. He produced a forged *farmān*, and entering the capital by the Badāūn gate sent word to the Kotwāl of the city that a *farmān* had come from the Sulṭān, and asked him to come out so that he might read it out to him. As soon as the Tarmadi[2] the Kotwāl came out, Hājī Moulā, with the aid of the body of turbulent men he had with him, killed him, and explained to the people that he had slain him by order of the Sultān. He also ordered the keepers of the different gates to close them, and sent a man to 'Alāuddīn Ayāz, who was the keeper of the new citadel, with a message that a *farmān* had arrived from the Sultān, and that he was to come at once and to read it. 'Alāuddīn Ayāz was aware of the man's perfidy, he collected his men, and strengthened the gates of the citadel. Hājī Moulā then went with his companions to the ruby Kiosk, released the prisoners, and took them along with him. He distributed the horses, arms and treasure, which were there, among the men of the rabble that had come with him. He then forcibly brought an 'Alwai (i e a descendant of 'Ali) who was called Shāh Nabasa Muhtasib[3] (i e a grandson of an emperor, who was also a police officer, who examined weights and measures, and took cognisance of offences against public morals) who, through his mother, traced his descent to Sulṭān Shamsuddīn, and placed him on the throne in the ruby Kiosk. He also summoned the great men and the judges, and compelled them to do homage to that man. When information of this reached the Sultān, he did not divulge it, but made greater efforts to seize the fort, and was not at all disturbed. A week had not elapsed,

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[1] The exact words are از حاصهٔ حلالی ملک الامرا. In Elliot's history, vol iii, p 175 the man is described as "a person named Hājī, a Moulā or slave of the late Kotwāl Amir-ul Umarā Fakhru-d Dīn."

[2] The name is given differently in the lith ed and in the MSS. In the former it is as I have given it in the text. In the three MSS it is Barmadi, Raṭumadi, and Tarmadi respectively. In Elliot's translation of Ziā-i-Barnī it is Tarmuzi.

[3] It is said in Elliot's history (vol iii, p 176) that in the corresponding passage in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī of Ziā-i-Barnī the printed edition has شه نسف کمتندی اورا سه, while one MS has اورا دستهٔ می شد محتسب کمتندی but the other MS omits the words

when Malik Hamīduddīn Amīr Kū[1] with his sons who were celebrated for their bravery, opened the Badāūn gate and entered the city, and made a body of horsemen who were retainers of Zafar Khān, and who had come from Amroha, to be present at a muster, accompany them There was a fight between them and Hājī Moulā near the Bahandarkāl[2] gate Amīr Kū dismounted from his horse, and wrestling with Hājī Moulā threw him, and pinned him down, and in spite of the wounds which he had received, did not let him go till he had killed him Then they went to the ruby Kiosk, and slew the 'Alawi whom Hājī Moulā had placed on the throne, and fixing his head on a lance paraded it round the city, and sent it with a letter anouncing the victory to the Sultān The latter then sent Ulugh Khān to Dehli, and he punished all those who had created the disturbance He ordered the sons of the Malik-ul-Umrā, the former Kotwāl, to be executed, merely because Hājī Moulā had belonged to their tribe, although they had not had any share in the insurrection, and completely destroyed their families

After this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn conquered Rantambor, with great difficulty and trouble. He ordered Hamīr Deo and all his clan and family to be slain It is related that Mīr Muhammad Shāh and a band of insurgents had fled from Jālor[3] and taken shelter in Rantambor Most of these were slain, at the time the fort was taken Mīr Muhammad Shāh was lying wounded When the Sultān's eye fell on him, he was moved with pity, and said "What would'st thou do, if I order thy wounds to be attended to, and save thee from this imminent danger,

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[1] It is not quite clear what or where Kū was The readings are different the lith ed has حمید الدین باامیر کویا پسران or Hamiduddin with Amīr Koya's sons, MSS A and B have حمید الدین باامیر کویا پسران خو' or Hamiduddin, Amīr Kū, with his sons This reading I have adopted MS C has امیر کو با پسران خود حمید الدین which is slightly different

The corresponding passage of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi is translated in Elliot (vol iii, p 177) as "Malik Hamiduddīn Amīr of Koh, with his sons and relations, all valiant men, opened the Ghaznī gate, and went into the city "

[2] The name of this gate is given in the lith ed and in the three MSS. as هند در کال بهدر کال بهد کال and مہدرر کال respectively It is given in Elliot (vol iii, p 177) as "the gate of Bhandar Kāl "

[3] It appears from Elliot (vol iii, p 179) that these were new Musalmāns, who had fled from the rebellion in Gujrāt

and after this how would'st thou behave ?" He said in reply: "If I recover from my wounds, I would have thee slain, and raise the son of Hamīr Deo on the throne."

Couplet

He who, by nature, evil is, keeps faith with none,
He who's of bad descent, never fails in doing wrong.

The Sultān then ordered that he should be placed under the foot of a rampant elephant, and he was crushed to death. After a time, when he recollected how true and loyal he had been to his benefactor, he ordered him to be decently buried. In short, Sultān 'Alāuddīn conferred the fort of Rantambor and the surrounding country on Ulugh Khān, as a fief, and returned to Dehli. After that, Ulugh Khān fell ill, and died on the way.

Owing to the frequency with which calamities and disturbances had taken place during that time, Sultān 'Alāuddīn asked the wise noblemen, who were noted for their intelligence and experience, what the reason for these repeated calamities might be. They replied that there could only be four causes. First, the ignorance of the king as to the good and the evil in the condition of the people; second, the indulgence of the people in spirituous drinks, when they drink, the evil humours come into motion, and many disturbances are created; third, the friendship, and relationship and union among the Amīrs; fourth, wealth, which when it comes into the hands of base and mean spirited people, wicked projects and insane thoughts find their way into their imaginations. The Sultān accepted the opinions of the Amīrs as correct, and ordered that every village, which might be held by anybody as a pious endowment, or as a service grant, or as an estate, should become Crown property, and whoever had any riches, was to be seized, by any pretext which might be thought of, and brought into the Treasury. The people suffered great distress, and were always anxious for their daily bread, and the names of rebellion and disturbance were never on their tongues. Spies were at work in every quarter of the city, and in every lane, and house, and this was carried to such an extreme point that even the Amīrs, and men of wealth, could not mix or meet with one another, or go into the houses of one another. The furniture, used at the special festive

gatherings of the Sulṭān, which had been manufactured at great cost, were broken in front of the Badāūn gate, and the wines were spilt on the ground, so that the people might become aware of the prohibition of (the use of) wines. Proclamations were made in the capital, and orders and decrees about the prohibition of wines were sent into all parts of the kingdom The foolish and ignorant people, who were accustomed to drink, and who could not forego the idea of it, brought liquor by various tricks and subterfuges, and some even distilled it in their houses, by stealth When the Sultān became aware of these practices, he ordered a well to be dug, near the Badāūn gate, at a place frequented by the people, so that it might be used as a prison for these people Most of the men who were incarcerated in this well, died, and the few who escaped with their lives, had to be medically attended to and treated for a long time before they could recover their health After people had given up the habit of drinking, and the rules on the subject had been firmly established, the Sultān issued an order, that if any of the notables drank alone in his own house, and did not have a drinking party, he should not be taken to task for it He also ordered that the Amīrs, and all the great men, should not invite one another to their houses, and should not have feasts, and should not without the permission of the Sulṭān enter into matrimonial and other relations There was so much rigour in this respect also, that men ceased to meet one another, and the Amīrs began to behave to one another like strangers

After these rules had been firmly established, the Sultān wanted to promulgate certain other rules in the country, which might result in the amelioration of the condition of the people, both strong and weak, so that the tyranny which the headmen and the chowdhris (the headmen of the various castes and trades) exercised over weak people should cease to exist He ordered that one half of the produce, by actual measurement, should be taken by the state without any deduction; and the headmen and chowdhris and all other rayyats were placed on the same footing, so that the burden of the strong was not thrown on the weak He also ordered that what used to be the perquisites of the chowdhris should be collected and paid into the treasury, and that grazing fees for each head of cow and buffalo and sheep should also be realized The scrutiny into the conduct of the

ministerial officers and scribes was carried to such an extreme, that they were not able to misappropriate even one *jital* If any of them took anything in addition to his fixed salary, this at once appeared against him in the papers of the patwari (the village accountant), and was immediately exacted from him with the greatest rigour and contumely Men gave up all ministerial offices, and all appointments as scribes, as something blameworthy The condition of headmen and chowdhris, who had always gone about on horseback, and had carried arms, and worn beautiful clothes, became so wretched, that their wives had to do menial work in the houses of others, and had to buy their food with what they got as wages

Sultān 'Alāuddīn repeatedly said, that the orders and rules of government depended solely on the judgment of the Sovereign, and that the law (of the Prophet) had no concern with them The trial of disputes, the decision of suits, and the methods of worship were in the province of Kāzīs and learned men. Accordingly he carried into effect whatever he judged, in his mind, to be for the better government of the country, and paid no heed to the question as to whether what he did was or was not authorized by the law Among the learned men, Kāzī Zia-ud-dīn of Biānah, Moulānah Zahīr Lang and Moulānah Mushaiad Kuhrāmī attended at the outer table with the Amīrs, but Kāzī Maghīsuddīn of Biānah was allowed to join the Sultān's own table One day the Sultān told him "I want to put a few questions to you" Kāzī Maghīsuddīn said in reply. "In all probability my death is near as I shall only say what there is in the books of the law, and perhaps it will not coincide with the Sultān's opinions' The Sultān said "Say whatever may be the truth You will not be taken to task for it" He first asked him whether a Hindu should in accordance with the law, be described as pure, or as a heathen, who is allowed to practise his religion, on condition of his paying the poll tax, or as an ordinary tax-payer ? The Kāzī said in reply, that 'if the Sultān's tax-collector demands money or tax from him, and he, with the greatest respect, pays it, without objection, and even if the tax-collector behaves to him in a way which may be insulting, he suffers it quietly, without demur or hatred; for it has been said in respect of Kāfirs, as long as they pay the Jaziah let them be humbled, and about them, men learned in the law have

directed 'either slay them, or make them accept Islām', and a traditionary saying of the Prophet (on whom be blessing and peace!) is also conclusive on this point, but the great Imām Hanafi (on whom be the mercy of God!) has laid it down, that the taking of the *Jaziah* is a substitute for their death, and has prohibited the shedding of their blood, therefore the *Jaziah* and rent should be collected from them, with such rigour as may be equivalent to the slaying of them" The Sultān laughed and said "What you have propounded in accordance with the books, I have discovered all that by my own endeavours, and I have treated the Hindus accordingly" Again he asked "When a tax-gatherer takes a bribe, and fraudulently reduces the revenue, is it to be considered a kind of theft, and is he to be punished like a thief?" The Kāzī said in reply "If the tax-gatherer has received enough to maintain himself from the Treasury, then whatever he might have appropriated in addition to that, in the way of a bribe, etc that should be exacted from him, with all the rigour and contumely that may be possible, but the cutting off of the hand, which has been specially prescribed for thefts of property, cannot be applied to him" The Sulṭān said "I know this much, that from the day that I have taken special care about this matter, I have recovered, with every possible rigour and violence, everything that anybody might have embezzled, and appropriated to himself, and have caused it to be paid into the Treasury The paths of theft and embezzlement have been closed, and the misappropriating arm of the avaricious has been shortened" The Sultān again asked "Does all that wealth, which I brought from Deogīr, belong to me or to the public treasury?" The Kāzī said "As the Sulṭān acquired all that wealth through the power and the exertions of the army, therefore the whole of the troops should participate in it, and it belongs to the public treasury, and not to the Sulṭān personally" The Sulṭān flew into a wrath, and said "How can the riches which I acquired with the greatest trouble, in the days when I was a Malik, and which I did not at the time pay into the public treasury, be considered to belong to it?" The Kāzī said in reply "Those riches which the Sulṭān acquired by his personal exertions, and in obtaining and acquiring which he did not take the help of the army, should certainly belong to him personally, but these

riches, which the Sulṭān brought from Deogīr, do not belong to this class" After this the Kāzī stood up and asked to be excused; and said "If I submit anything in the presence of the Sultān which may be contrary to the treatises on the law, and the Sulṭān should be apprized by some one else of my falsehood, that should be a just cause for the increase of the Sultān's wrath What would then be my position in the Sultān's estimation? and should I not have made myself liable for treason?" The Sultān again asked· "What right have I or my immediate dependants on the public treasury?" The Kāzī was much affected, and said "If I speak according to the law, the Sulṭān will not hesitate about ordering me to be slain, and if I speak ambiguously or falsely, I shall suffer eternal punishment" The Sulṭān said "Say what is right and just, and you will not be censured for it" The Kāzī said "If the Sulṭān acts righteously, and follows the examples of the great Caliphs (may God place them in paradise!) he should appropriate to himself only as much as he allots to one of his servants, and if he follows an intermediate course, he should take from the public treasury as much as he gives to one of his chief Amīrs, than which he does not give more to any one else, but if he acts according to the permission of men learned in religious matters,[1] who on such occasions, seeking shelter in unauthorized traditions, acquiesce in the wishes of victorious monarch, then he may take as much as may be somewhat distinguished from what the Amīrs get Under no circumstances is it permissible for him to appropriate more than this from the public treasury" The Sultān again became very angry, and said· "Do you mean to say that all this money that is disbursed in my haram (palace), as rewards to servants, in the different domestic offices, and in various other ways, is spent in contravention of the law? The Kāzī said "As the Sultān asked me questions about the law, it was right that I should submit to him what was right according to the treatises, on the law, but if he asks me what is expedient for reasons of state, I should at once tell him that all that he does is right, and is in accordance with the rules and laws of empire, and, indeed, if anything is over and beyond such rules and laws, it only

[1] The expression used by Ziā-i-Barnī is 'Ulamā-i-Duniya, learned and wise men of the world, but in the Tabakat-i-Akbarī both in the lith ed and in the MSS, the expression is 'Ulamī-i-Dīn, men learned in religious doctrines

conduces to the pomp and grandeur of the empire; and would result in various advantages to it." After that the Sulṭān said that. "I have taken three years' pay from all horsemen who did not appear at the musters. and have put to the sword all rebels, and all disturbers of the peace, with all their children and dependants, and have brought into the treasury all the property which they might have had, wherever it might be, and have ruined and destroyed their families I have also prescribed various pains and penalties for thieves, and wine-bibbers and adulterers Do you say that all this is contrary to the law ?" The Kāzī got up from his seat, went to a distance, and placing his head on the ground said "It is all against the law " The Sultān grew angry, and went into the women s apartments

Couplet

When thou dost say what's right and just !
'Tis God himself that teacheth thee !

The next day the Sultān sent for Kāzī Maghisuddīn, showed him great kindness, and gave him a robe and a thousand tangāhs as a reward He said "I am a Musalmān and the son of a Musalmān All the rigour and punishment that I use is for the good of the empire I do not know what will happen to me, to-morrow, on the day of judgment "

After some time the Sultān marched with his troops towards Chitor, and having conquered the fort in a short time, returned to Dehli When the news reached Mawara-un-Nahr that Sulṭān 'Alā-uddīn was engaged with the siege of a distant fort, and would remain there for a long time, the Mughal Targhī, who has been mentioned already, came with a large army to plunder Hindustān, and encamped on the bank of the Jamunā near Dehli But the Sultān had finished the conquest of Chitor, and returned to Dehli a month before this The flower of the Sulṭān's army had, however, marched to the extreme south of the Dakin, to conquer Arangal, and most of the great Amīrs had gone to their own Jāgīrs, after the conquest of Rantambor, and the troops which were with the Sultān were badly equipped, owing to the rains and the length of the time they had been in camp The Sultan in a state of perplexity came

out of Dehli with the troops he had with him, and encamped in the plain of Sīrī He strengthened his position by digging trenches and placing thorns, bound together, and other means of defence, and waited for the Amīrs whom he had summoned from different directions The Amīrs could not, however, join him, as the Mughals had occupied the country round Dehli, and had fortified their positions Some of them waited at Kol, and some at Baran When two months had elapsed, Targhī, without any visible cause, went away The citizens of Dehli ascribed this to the favour of Sheikh Nizāmuddīn, may his tomb be holy, and counted it as one of his miracles They say that a panic seized Targhī and he started in confusion, and returned [to his own country]

After that the Sultān made Sīrī his capital, and laid the foundations of great buildings and rebuilt the citadel of Dehli, and again strengthened the forts, which were situated along the path of the entrance of the Mughals He also determined to have such an army as would be sufficient for encountering the Mughals, as well as for defending the empire (against other enemies), but he found that his revenue was not sufficient for the maintenance of such an army He accordingly took counsel with his wise ministers and experienced nobles They said, that if horses, and arms, and all the accoutrements of a soldier, on which the strength of an army depends, and grain, and all other necessaries which the common people require, became cheap, the wishes of the Sultān might be realised For the soldier would, on account of the cheapness of grain, be able to provide himself with provisions, even on the small pay he would get The Sultān then framed a few rules on this subject in consultation with his Vazīrs, who were the wisest men of the age Owing to these rules, all the necessaries of life became cheap The first rule was this, that a price was fixed for the different kinds of grain, in accordance with the orders of the Sultān The market people were not allowed to have any power in fixing the price of grains What was settled was this

Wheat, per maund, seven and a half jitals, barley per maund, four jitals
Gram ,, five jitals, rice ,, five ,,
(Cicer arietinum) (in husk)
Mash ,, five ,, Moth ,, three ,,
(Vetch, phaseolus radiatus) (lentil, phaseolus aconiti folius).

These rates remained unaltered till the end of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn's reign and no change took place in them, either on account of drought, or any kind of dearth The second rule was this, that Malik Kabul Ulugh Khān, who was a wise man with great firmness of character, was appointed to be Inspector of the grain market (which in the language of Hindustān is called a Mandui), so that he might see that all buying and selling was according to the rates fixed by the Sulṭān The third rule was this, that the share of the produce of the crown-lands, which belonged to the Sultān, should be collected and stored in the towns, so that if there should be any deficiency in the grain brought to the market, it might be sold at the fixed rate The fourth rule (or order) was this, that Malik Kabul should summon the grain dealers of the various towns in the empire, and settle them on the bank of the Jamunā, so that they might bring grain from the various parts of the empire, and sell it in the market of Dehli at the Sultān's rates and he should take bonds from them for this purpose The fifth rule was for the prohibition of regrating, and this was carried to such a point that if it appeared that any soldier or cultivator had committed the offence of regrating, the grain was taken from him, and was added to the Sultān's grain, and the man was amerced The sixth rule was this, that all cultivators were directed to sell the the produce of their fields where it was grown, and not to take one grain to their houses, and the tax-gatherers were ordered to collect the dues from the rayyats in such a way, that the latter might use the produce of their land in the fields, and might not take anything but their own share to their houses, and might not commit the offence of regrating The seventh rule was this, that a report of the rates of the prices of the different kinds of grain, and of all matters connected with the grain market, had to be submitted every day in detail to the Sultān If there was the least infraction of these rules, the managers of the markets and their agents were punished An order was also passed, that in seasons of drought, each man should buy from the market a quantity of grain proportionate to the number of persons in his family, and no one was allowed to buy more than was sufficient for the daily needs of his family Officers were appointed to attend to this and there was the greatest scrutiny and rigour about it The Sulṭān employed spies to make secret reports to

him about this matter No one was allowed to make a difference of even half a jital in the rates fixed by the Sulṭān.

Rules were also framed and provisions made, to secure the cheap sale of cloth The first was this, that an extensive building was erected near the Badāūn gate, and was named the mansion of justice, and the Sulṭān ordered that all piece-goods brought from the different parts of the empire should be deposited in it, and should be sold there, and no one was to sell any piece-goods in the market, or in his own house The buying and selling in the mansion of justice was to take place from early morning to the hour of the first prayers If it became known that any of the market people closed his shop before the hour of early prayer, or had opened it after early morning, he was punished The second was this, that all piece-goods were sold at the rates which were fixed from before the throne [These were] raw silk[1] of Dehli, sixteen tangahs, raw silk of orange colour, six tangahs, silk mixed with hair, three tangahs, red striped stuff, eight jitals, common stuffs, thirty-six jitals, red lining of Nāgore twenty-four jitals, fine Shirin bāft, five tangahs, medium Shirin bāft, three tangahs, best Silahatī, four tangahs, medium Silahatī, three tangahs, coarse Silahatī, two tangahs, fine cotton, twenty yards, one tangah, grey coarse cotton, forty yards, one tangah, sheets, ten jitals each The third rule was this, that the names of the

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[1] There are some differences in the names of the different kinds of stuff The first kind is called حر in the lith ed In two of the MSS it appears to be حشی, which means coarse rough cloth In the third, it is خمر which may be Khazz or Khanz I have adopted Khazz as it is not likely that coarse rough cloth should be placed at the head of the list, and should be valued at sixteen tangahs The first class is also called 'Dehli Khazz Silk' in Major Fuller's translations from the Tarikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī given in Journ A S B, 1870 The fourth kind is called درد ملی دو لعل in the lith ed In the MSS it is called درد ملمی دو لعل in MS B and درد قلمی لعل in MS C I cannot exactly make out the meaning In Major Fuller's translations already referred to it is called red-striped stuff, and I have taken this name The price in the translation is six jitals, but in the lith ed as well as in the MSS of the Tabakat-i-Akbarī it is eight jitals The price of the best kind appears in the lith ed and in the MSS as thirty-six jitals This appears to be a mistake The price in Major Fuller's translation is three and a half jitals The price of fine and middling Silahatī is six and four tangahs respectively in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī, but the translator considered the price mentioned for fine Silahatī was very high.

merchants of the city, and of different parts of the empire, were entered in a register, and they were directed that they should bring all piece-goods into the city, as they had been accustomed to do before; and should sell them, in the mansion of justice, at the rates fixed by the Sultān Any one who neglected to do this, was held to be an offender. The third measure was this, that sums of money were advanced from the treasury to the merchants of the city, so that they might bring piece-goods from different parts of the empire, and sell them, in the mansion of justice, at the prescribed rates The fifth rule was this, that whenever any of the noted Amirs required any specially fine piece of cloth, he had to obtain a license from the chief of the market This rule was framed with this object, that merchants living in different parts of the country might not buy such fine cloth, in the mansion of justice, at the fixed rates, and sell them at other places at higher prices

Four rules were also framed to secure the cheap sale of horses The first for fixing the classes, and the price for each class, for instance, for horses of the first class, one hundred tangahs, for those of the second class from eighty to ninety tangahs, and for those of the third class from sixty-five to seventy tangahs The second rule was this, that horsedealers, and the moneyed men of the city were not allowed to buy horses at the market The moneyed men of the city, who had been accustomed to buy cheap and sell dear, were driven out of the city and banished and dispersed The third rule was for the admonition and punishment of brokers of horses, it was ordered that if a single horse was sold in a market, in contravention of the Sulṭān's rates, all the brokers in the market would be imprisoned and punished The fifth rule was this, that at the end of each month an enquiry was made about the classification of horses, and their prices, and about the condition and behaviour of the brokers, and if the slightest deviation from the rules framed by the Sultān was detected, the brokers were punished

The four rules, just mentioned, about horses, were also enforced in the case of prisoners of war(slaves), and cattle

Everything that happened in the markets was immediately written down, and daily reports were placed before the Sulṭān Spies were also appointed to enquire about the condition of the market,

and if it appeared that the managers of the markets had reported anything contrary to the truth, they were punished. Everything which had to be sold and bought in the markets were brought to the presence of the Sulṭān and he examined them and fixed the rates for them. He did not consider even such things as needles and combs and shoes, and earthen pitchers and cups, as too trifling. The prices of precious as well as common, things were fixed by the Sultān personally, and a statement of the rates of their prices was supplied to the markets. The care and supervision which the Sultān exercised over market people, and the scrutiny which he made about the rates, were carried to such a pitch, that after a time, young children, who had no knowledge about buying and selling things, were sent to the markets with a few tangahs in their hands, so that they might buy such things as children were fond of. The things were taken to the Sultān, and if it appeared that there was the least difference either in the rate, or in the weight, the man who had sold the things was punished. The mildest punishment that was inflicted in such cases was the cutting off of the ear or the nose.

After articles of food, and the accoutrements of the soldiers, had become cheap and the strength of the army had been increased, the doors of the entrance of the Mughals, and of their tyrannies, were in a manner closed. If at any time a band of Mughals came towards Dehli, they were all taken prisoners and slain. For instance, on one occasion Ali Beg, the grandson[1] of Changiz Khān, and Tartak, came with forty thousand horsemen into the country of Amrohā along the skirts of the Sivalik hills. Sultān 'Alāuddīn nominated Malik Navak Akhur Beg[2] to march against them with a large army. They

[1] Here also نبسه or نبیره is used in the sense of a descendant and not strictly of a grandson. The name of the second commander is doubtful. It is given as Tartāk both in Elliot and in Major Fuller's translation, but it is said in a note in the former, that the "MSS (of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi) have 'Tarvāk and Ziyāk' In the text of Ferishta he is called Tarvīl but in the translation 'Khwāja Tash' which is in accordance with D'Ohsson (Hist. Des Mongols, iv. 571). The Tabakat-i-Akbari has Rasmak." It is however not Rasmak in the lith. ed. or in any of the three MSS. of the Tabakat-i-Akbari I have collated. It is درماک in the former, and قرماک and ترماک، زرماک in the three MSS.

[2] This name is not clear. It appears like Malik Nāyak Akhur Beg in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. The name is also Malik Nāyak Akhur Beg in Elliot, but it is

came up with them within the Amroha territory and gave battle. Most of the Mughals were slain, and Ali Beg and Tartāk were taken prisoners, and were brought before the Sultān, with chains round their necks, with the twenty thousand horses, which had also been taken That day, the Sultān came out of the city, and held a public reception on the Subhānī Chabutara, and the troops were stationed in two lines from this place to Indarpat[1] At this time Ali Beg and Tartāk Beg with the other captives were led in front of the Sultān, and most of them were slain by being thrown under the feet of elephants

Couplet

Whoever in this world doth ill,
To him at last that ill returns

A second time a Mughal named Kabek[2] came with a large army into the town of Khakar, and fought with the army of Delhi, but most of them were slain, and a tower was built of their heads, near the Badāūn gate After a time, another Mughal army, about thirty thousand strong, came into the Siwālik territory and commenced to plunder the country When this came to the knowledge of the Sultān, he sent a numerous army against them. This army took up a position near the river Rāvī, on the route by which the Mughals would return When the Mughal army, encumbered with much booty arrived at the bank of the river, the army of Delhi attacked them with great bravery, and were crowned with triumph and victory

"Malik Atābak, the master of horse , in Major Fuller's translation According to Mr Tolbort's note appended to Major Fuller's translation, the commander sent by the Sultān was, according to Badāūnī, Malik Manik (=Naib Kāfur Hazār-Dīnārī) and, according to Ferishta, Tughluk Khān

[1] The name of this place is given in both Elliot and Major Fuller's translation as Indarpat It may be Indarpat in MS A of the Tabakat-i-Akbarī but in the lith ed. and in MS C it is Madinah and in MS B it is Nadinah

[2] The name of this Mughal leader is Kank in Elliot and Gang in Major Fuller's translation It is Kabak or Kabīk or Kapīk in the lith ed and in the MSS of the Tabakat-i-Akbarī The name of the town which was attacked by the Mughals was given as Khekar by Ziā-i-Barnī and Khakar or Khakhara in the Tabakat-i-Akbarī. Probably the river Ghaggar near Patiālā is meant

They took a large number of the Mughal leaders captive, and kept them imprisoned in the fort of Tarāinah,[1] which was in the neighbourhood, and brought their families and adherents to Dehli, where they were sold in the market-place as slaves After that, Malik Khās Hājib was ordered to go to Tarāinah and to have the prisoners executed. When some time had elapsed after this, a Mughal of the name of Ikbalmanda invaded Hindustān with a large army A battle took place between him and the army of Dehli at Dihandah Amīr 'Ali Wāhan,[2] and he was slain, while the other Mughals were brought to Dehli as prisoners, and were trampled to death under the feet of elephants After that, such a fear and dread took possession of the hearts of the Mughals, that the idea [of invading] Hindustān was obliterated from their minds The country remained free from their depredations to the end of the reign of Kutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh Sultān Tughlak Shāh, who in those days was called the Ghazi (warrior) Malik, and held the fiefs of Dibālpur and Lahore, raided every year up to the boundaries of the Mughal country, and pillaged those districts The Mughals could not come and oppose him, and defend the outskirts of their country

After the depredations of the Mughals had been completely stopped, and most of the towns of Hindustān, which had been the refuge and asylum of turbulent and refractory people, had been brought under complete subjection, and the paths of the coming and going of merchants and all other travellers had been made perfectly safe, and the strength of the army had also been raised to the needs of the empire, Sultān 'Alāuddīn being now firmly seated on the throne of Dehli, and having his mind perfectly free from all anxiety, contemplated the conquest of the distant towns and provinces, and whatever country he attempted to conquer, that he subjugated, without any trouble or difficulty

[1] The name of the fort is given as Nārāinah in Elliot and as Nārāinah in Major Fuller's translation

[2] The name of this place is not clear It appears from a note to Major Fuller's translation that the MS of the Tabakat-i-Akbarī which the writer of the note had, had the name of the place as I have given it The writer of the note adds that Dihandah was the name of a river near Ajodhan Patan-i-Panjab south-west of Deopalpur or Dibālpur The name of the place where the battle took place is not given in Elliot

Couplets

When the help of Heaven to the fortunate comes,
He gains his object ev'n before his wish,
While still his wish is in his heart,
The treasure to his hand doth come,
If the tilth of his purpose is in the east,
From the west to him comes rain and wind

The success which crowned his aims and objects, and the wonderful works he accomplished by his exertions and endeavours have been deemed by many to be nothing less than miracles, and they have attributed their achievement to revelation and inspiration, while a few have described them as miracles caused by evil agencies and have thought that they were the effect of deception caused by God,[1] while others have thought, that the safety and the happiness of the people were due to the auspicious existence of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā (may his grave be holy!)

In short, Malik Nāib Kāfur Hazār-dīnārī was sent with other great Amīrs and renowned Khāns against Deogīr, one of the cities of the Dakin The Sultān distinguished him with many honours and granted him a red canopy and other royal favours Khwājah Hajī, the deputy muster-master of the forces, was sent with him, so that he might supervise the operations of the army and take charge of the booty Malik Kāfur on arrival at Deogīr made, by means of his bravery and his skilful manoeuvres, the ruler of the district (Rām Deo) and his sons prisoners, and took possession of all the treasures and seventeen elephants These he sent to Dehli, with a report of the victory Immediately after this, he showed great kindness to Rām Deo, and took him with the elephants and treasure to Dehli, and there became the recipient of Royal favours The Sultān treated Rām Deo with generosity, bestowed the title of Rāy-i-Rāyān, and a canopy and a lac of tankahs, on him as his reward and confirming him in the possession of Deogīr sent him back Rām Deo then became a loyal servant of the Sultān, and always rendered him allegiance, homage, and valuable service

In the year 709 A H, Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Malik Kāfur, a

[1] The language sounds blasphemous, but the translation is literal.

second time, with a large army to Arangal. At the time of sending him off, he directed that if Rudar Deo,[1] the ruler of Arangal, made over treasure, and guns and elephants, and agreed to pay an annual tribute, he should be satisfied with that, and should return. He should not, in that case, exert himself to conquer the fort or to take Rāi Rudar Deo prisoner. He should also consult with Khwājah Hājī about the affairs of those parts, and should not punish the Amīrs for petty offences, and minor dereliction of duty. He should, however, not allow any negligence. If a soldier acquired some booty, and begged to be allowed to retain it, he should grant his prayer, also if a trooper's horse should be killed in battle, or be stolen, or become useless, he should give him a better horse in place of it. These things he should consider to be the duties of a ruler. Malik Kāfur and Khwājah Hājī then bade the Sultān farewell, and, by rapid marches, went towards Arangal. When they arrived at Chanderi, they stopped there for a few days, and took a muster of the army. From that place they started for Deogīr. Rām Deo advanced to welcome them, made a large present, performed the ceremonies of homage and service, and accompanied the army for several stages. He then obtained leave to return and went back to Deogīr.

When Malik Nāib arrived near Arangal the neighbouring Rāis, through fear of the army of Islām, had hastened forward, and built a citadel in the outer fort, which was very extensive, into which they crowded, and which they prepared to defend. Rudar Deo with his own followers took shelter in the inner citadel which was built of stone. The Sultān's army besieged the fort, and made every effort to seize it, and the Hindus, from inside, to oppose and prevent them. After a time, the outer fort was taken, after a severe struggle. Most of the Rāis and Zamindārs and their families and dependants were taken prisoner, and an immense number were slain. Rāi Rudar Deo, in great distress, opened negotiations, and begged for protection. Malik Nāib took from him much treasure, a hundred elephants, and seven thousand horses, and gave him assurances of safety. It was also stipulated that he would send suitable tribute every year. Malik

[1] The name is given as Laddar Deo in Elliot. It is Laddar Deo also in the lith. ed. of the Tabakat-i-Akbarī but it is Rudar Deo in two of the MSS., besides Rudar Rudra Deo is a well-known name whereas Laddar Deo has no meaning.

Nāib then submitted a report, stating the facts to the Sultān, who, on receiving it, ordered that the report of the victory should be read from the pulpits, that the drum of joy should be beaten, and gifts and presents should be made When Malik Nāib returned to Dehli, the Sultān came out of the city, and sat in state, on the Nāsirī Chabutarah (platform) near the Badāūn gate Malik Nāib was there allowed to offer his homage, and passed all the booty before the Sultān's eyes, and was honoured with various favours

It has been related that whenever Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent an army to any place, he arranged a horse dak chouki (relay) (which in the language of the ancients is called a yām or post horse) from Dehli to the place of destination, and he posted at each karoh a fast runner, who is called a paik in Hindi), and he appointed a scribe, at each town or city, on the way, who reported every day what happened there It so happened that on this occasion when Malik Nāib was sent against Arangal, all news of him was cut off, for some time, owing to some disturbances on the road, and certain thanahs or posts being disarranged The Sultān was much grieved at this, and deputed Malik Karā Beg and Kāzi Maghisuddīn of Sāmānah to go to the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā and after conveying his prayers (for the Shaikh's welfare) to tell him, that the Sultān had not received any news of the army that had been sent against Arangal, for a long time, that his anxiety (for the safety) of the army of Islām would be greater than that of the Sultān, that if he should be acquainted, by means of the illumination of his sanctity, with the condition of the army, he would lighten and gladden the Sultān's heart by disclosing it He also told the messengers, that they were to bring back to him without any increase or diminution, whatever might fall from the lips of the Shaikh When they arrived in the latter's presence, they delivered the Sultān's message The Shaikh referred to one of the previous kings, narrated the story of his conquests, and introduced these words in the course of the narrative, viz, "in addition to this conquest other conquests may be expected" Malik Karā Beg and Kāzī Maghisuddīn returned from the presence of the Shaikh and repeated his words to the Sultān The latter was extremely glad, and knew that Arangal had been conquered, and hoped that other conquests would follow

At the close of the same day, Malik Nāib's report of the victory came, and this became the reason of the Sultān's having greater faith in the Shaikh's holiness. Although Sultān 'Alāuddīn never went in person to pay his respects to the Shaikh, yet he always showed his faith and trust in him by sending messages to him, and by praying for his intercession.

Again in the year 710 A.H., Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Malik Nāib towards Dhor Samundar (Dvar Samudra), and M'abar (Malabar). Khwājah Hāji, the deputy muster-master of the forces, was sent with him. When they arrived at Deogīr, they found that Rāy Rām Deo was dead, but his son performed the usual services. Malik Nāib and Khwājah Hāji did not delay at Deogīr, but leaving it quickly, reached the vicinity of Dhor Samundar. Presently they captured that place, and took Mallar Deo, who was the ruler there, prisoner. They obtained thirty-six elephants and much treasure, and sent a report of their victory to Dehli. They then advanced with their troops to M'abar, and conquered it also, and having demolished the temples there, and broken the golden and jewelled idols, sent the gold into the Treasury. They also obtained much treasure from each of the Two Rāys, who ruled in M'abar and returned with three hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand maunds of gold and chests filled with gems, and pearls, and other booty, which was beyond all calculation, and did service to the Sultān. The latter was delighted with the great victories achieved, and the immense quantities of booty obtained, and conferred a share of this plunder on the Amīrs.

One of the wonderful events which occurred in the latter part of Sultān 'Alāuddīn's reign was this, that a number of worthless neo-Moslems who held no posts and had no stipends, conspired together that they would slay the Sultān, when he would be out hunting and would have none of his attendants near him. When information of this plot reached the Sultān, he, owing to the harshness and violence which had been ingrained in his nature, directed that every one of the class of neo-Moslems, that may be found anywhere, should be slain, so in the course of a single day, a few thousand inoffensive persons, who had no knowledge of the conspiracy, were ruthlessly slain, and their property was confiscated and their offspring destroyed.

At the same time a band of Bahtis[1] appeared The Sulṭān ordered that they should all be seized, and saws should be drawn across their heads, and they were slain in this cruel way, and as the Sulṭān was of a violent and implacable nature, no one had the hardihood to intercede for anybody before him When he was annoyed with any one, his anger was not appeased, even in the course of a lifetime, and he never left a way open for peace Although in the early period of his reign he used to take counsel with people about matters of policy, and allowed them to interfere in them, yet in his later years, when his mind was free from anxiety about everything, and all his political projects ended according to his wishes, he did whatever came into his thoughts, and accorded with his views, and did not take counsel with any one in such matters

It has been said that no other Emperor of Hindustān gained so many victories as Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn The author of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī says, that so many edifices, such as mosques, and minarets, and reservoirs, and citadels, and other similar structures, were erected in his time, as had not been built in any other The number of artificers and master-workmen also, as were seen in his reign, no one remembered in any other period The veracity and righteousness, in the higher classes, as well as in ordinary people, the obedience displayed by the Hindus, and the suppression of all turbulence, which were seen in his time, were never found at any other In no other period were so many great religious teachers, and so many wayfarers, in the path of faith, whose noble presence made Dehli the object of the envy of the other cities of the world, collected together as in his reign Among them was the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā Al 'Aziz, may his tomb be holy[1] who stands not in need of any praise, and who, seated on the high road of instruction and guidance, showed the true path to the people Many people were assembled in the Khānkuh of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā from the 5th to the 10th day

[1] I cannot find out who these were The name is باحتان in the lith ed and in the MSS it appears to be باحستان or باحتيان The corresponding passage in Ziā-i-Barnī is translated as "in most of the years disturbances (ibāhatiyān) broke out in the city" in Elliot (iii 206), but it appears to me that Bākhtiāns or Bāhtiāns were some schismatics Ibāhat means publishing, divulging a secret, permitting, giving liberty

of the Muharram, which were the feast days of Shaikh-ul-Islām Fariduddīn of Ajodhan and during those days people came to Dehli from all parts of Hindustān and even the doors and walls (i.e. inanimate objects) broke out in exclamations of wonder, on seeing the ecstacies of the men immersed in the Divine essence who were present. Another was Shaikh 'Alāuddīn, grandson of Shaikh Faridduddīn, who had been seated on the carpet of instruction in Ajodhan, and who was so deeply engaged in exoteric and esoteric worship that people called him a holy angel. Another was His Holiness, the Pole star of saints, Shaikh Ruknuddīn son of Shaikh Sadruddīn, son of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakaria, Multāni, may God sanctify their spirits! who used to guide the wanderers in the desert of search (for God) along the highway of faith to the furthest goal of accomplishment. All the inhabitants of Multān and Uchch, and of the whole province of Sind, came to his gate, and throwing themselves under the wing of his protection, obtained safety from dangers and calamities. His illustrious father Shaikh Sadruddīn in spite of the fact that he had so much wealth, which he had inherited from his father and that he had so many offerings and gifts that even imagination could not keep count of them was almost always in debt. Another was Sayyad Tājuddīn, son of Sayyad Kutbuddīn, who in liberality, erudition, patience, and other human perfections was unrivalled in that age. For a time, he was the Kāzī of Audh, and after that he became Kāzī of Badāūn. Another was Sayyad Ruknuddīn, brother of the aforesaid Sayyad Tājuddīn, who was the Kāzī of Karah and was adorned with praiseworthy qualities. Next among the Sayyads of Kaithal were Sayyad Maghisuddīn, and his brother Sayyad Maslahatuddīn, and both these brothers were possessed of erudition and piety and purity and all perfections. They were called the Sayyads of Nohatah. There were other Sayyads, and great men, but a detailed description of each would be too long. Among these was Kāzī Sadruddīn 'Ārif, who was the chief Kāzī of the kingdom and had the title of Sadr-i-Jahān. After him Kāzī Jalāluddīn Dilwātī[1] became the Kāzī of the kingdom, and

[1] This word is given differently in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. In the former it is Tawān. In MS. A it is Tawahi. MS. B Dilwātī and in MS. C Dewalhi.

Maulāna Ziāuddīn-i-Bianāh became the Sadr-i-Jahān (chief Judge) In the latter days of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Malik Iltijār Hamiduddīn Multānī became the Kāzī of the kingdom

Among the exoteric learned men, who were versed in various sciences, and were engaged in teaching and imparting knowledge, there were forty-six, viz , Kāzī Fakhruddīn Nafsah,[1] Kāzī Sharfuddīn Sarmani, Maulānā Nasiruddīn Ghanī, Maulānā Tājuddīn Mukaddam, Kāzī Ziāuddīn Biānah, Maulānā Zahīr Lang, Maulānā Ruknuddīn Sunāmī, Maulānā Tājuddīn Kalāhī, Maulānā Zahiruddīn Bhakari, Kāzī Mahmuddīn Kāshānī, Maulānā Kamāluddīn Kului, Maulānā Wajihuddīn Pāelī, Maulānā Minhājuddīn Kabāī, Maulānā Nizāmuddīn Kalāhi, Maulānā Nasiruddīn Karah, Maulānā Nasiruddīn Sābūni, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Tājir, Maulānā Karimuddīn Jauharī, Maulānā Hujjat Multānī, Maulānā Hamīddudīn, Mukhl's, Maulānā Burhānuddīn Bhakari, Maulānā Iftikhāruddīn Barnī, Maulānā Hisāmuddin Surkh, Maulānā Wajīhuddīn Malhu, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Kurk, Maulānā Hisāmuddīn Shādī, Maulānā Hamīdduddīn Multānī, Maulānā Shihābuddīn Multānī, Maulānā Fakhruddīn Hānsuī, Maulānā Fakiruddīn Safāfil, Kāzī Zainuddīn Nāfilah, Maulānā Sarikhi, Maulānā Wajīhuddīn Rāzī, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Sadi Sharī'at, Maulānā Mirān Bariklah, Maulānā Najibuddīn Shādī, Maulānā Shamsuddīn, Maulānā Nasiruddīn, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Lahūrī, Kāzī Shamsuddīn Kārzunī, Maulānā Shamsuddīn Yehya, Maulānā Nasiruddīn Itāwī, Maulānā M'ainuddīn Lah, Maulānā Iftikhāruddīn Rāzī, Maulānā M'uizzuddīn Anerehī, and Maulānā Najmuddīn Inteshārī In the latter part of the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Maulānā 'Ilmuddīn, the grandson of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakariā, who had been one of the most learned men of his time, came to Dehli, and employed himself in imparting scientific and traditional knowledge Among the teachers of the science of reading the Kurān, Maulānā Shatī, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Mukri and Khwājah Zakī, the nephew of Hassan Basrī, were distinguished Preachers like Maulānā 'Imad Hasan Darwesh, and his brother Maulānā Jalāl, Maulānā Ziāuddīn Sunāmī Maulānā Shihābuddīn Khalilī and Maulānā Karim were the best of that period

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[1] There are some differences in the sequence of the names and in the names themselves in the lith ed and in the three MSS

Sipahsālār Tājuddīn 'Iraki, Khudāwandzādah Chāsnigīr, the grandson of Balbān-i-Buzurg, Malik Ruknuddīn Abīb, Malik 'Izzuddīn Tughān Khān and Malik Nasiruddīn Nūr Khān were the wittiest courtiers Among the poets of the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, by whose incomparable existence the capital, Dehli, may the whole country of Hindustān, was embellished and adorned, and the fame of whose eloquence had spread over the whole world (were the following), but the chief among them was Amīr Khusru, who in the use of words, and the invention of meanings, had supreme excellence, and the marks of whose greatness and excellence are clear, and patent from his works, in prose and verse He was likewise a mystic, deeply immersed in ecstatic contemplation Most of his time was spent in fasting and prayers, and he was quite intoxicated with the love and longing for God Sultān 'Alāuddīn used to pay this excellent product of the age a stipend of a thousand tangahs Another was Amīr Hasan Sanjari, who was celebrated for the facility of his composition, and the elegance of his diction He composed most elegant odes, was a great poet, and was called the S'adī of Hindustān He was also unrivalled in that age for the purity of his morals, and contentment, and for abandoning (worldly pleasures) and his love of solitude He was a disciple of his holiness Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Aulia may his tomb be holy and he collected together the sayings of the Shaikh, which he had heard in the period of his discipleship and named the collection "The Fawāed-ul-Fawād" He wrote also many other works in prose and verse Sadruddīn 'Ali, Fakhruddīn Kawās Hamiduddīn Rājāh, Maulānā 'Ārif, 'Ubed Hakīm and Shihāb Sadr-nashīn were also poets of the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and they used to receive stipends on this account Each of these had a special style of composition The collections of their odes bear witness to their perfect beauty and art There were also a few unrivalled historians Among the Messiah-like physicians, the master physician Maulānā Badruddīn Damashki had such skill, that if any one brought to him the urine of a number of animals collected in a phial, he, by merely looking at it, was able to say that the urine of such and such animals had been mixed up in it He was also a master of the secrets of mysticism, and of their examination and revelation There were also a few astrologers and sooth-sayers, who might be described as masters of witchcraft in

disclosing the secrets of the mind, and of future events There were also so many reciters of the Kurān and of odes and other masters of the joyous art and men of other arts, that they cannot be enumerated in this brief work

After the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had been prolonged, and his success and grandeur had reached a high point owing to the rule that all things after arriving at perfection fall to decay, and every beginning necessarily has an end, he began to do such things as became the cause of the downfall of his *empire* and of the destruction of his greatness Among these were this, that he became so enamoured and infatuated with the beauty of Malik Nāib Kāfūr Hazār-dīnārī, that he resigned the reins of power completely into the latter's hand, so that in matters of state he never neglected to attend to his wishes, nor did he ever swerve from his advice however injudicious it might be Another thing was this, that he removed his young sons from the *haramkhāna*, in the women's apartments in the palace before they could do without the supervision of guardians and the control of governors, and at the same time did not take any steps for the improvement of their character He conferred a canopy on Khizr Khān and declared him to be the heir-apparent before any rectitude could be perceived in his disposition, and he did not appoint any wise and experienced noblemen to look after him, who might in the beginning prevent him from indulging, in excess, in pleasures, and sensuality It so happened that while the Sulṭān was ill, he gave permission to Khizr Khān to go to the district of Amroha, on an excursion of hunting and pleasure, and told him that he would send for him, as soon as he recovered Khizr Khān had made a vow, that as soon as the Sulṭān should recover, he would come on foot, on a pilgrimage to [the tombs of] the saints of Dehli When he heard a report of the Sulṭān's recovery, before the command for his return could issue, he came on foot and bare-footed to Dehli on the pilgrimage Malik Nāib, who had begotten the lust of empire in his head, and was endeavouring to extirpate the Sultān's progeny, reported to the latter, that Khizr Khān had formed a wicked design, and had returned, without waiting for permission In this way, he induced the Sultān to send Khizr Khān to the fort of Gwālior After a time the Sultān was attacked by dropsy, and the

disease became worse from day to day. At this time he summoned Malik Nāib from Deogir, and Alp Khān from Gujrāt. After they had come to the capital, the former, owing to the enmity which he had against the latter, deceived the Sultān with absurd but specious representations, and induced him to order his execution. Shortly after this, the Sultān expired.

Couplet

Some breaths he counted, and he dust became
Time laughed at this, and said, he too is gone !

Some say Malik Nāib poisoned him. God knows all. He reigned for a period of twenty years and a few months.

SULTĀN SHIHĀBUDDĪN, YOUNGER SON OF SULTĀN 'ALĀUDDĪN KHALJĪ

Malik Nāib called together the Amīrs and the great officers of state, on the second day, after the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and produced a writing of the latter to the effect that he had made Sultān Shihābuddīn his successor, and had superseded Khizr Khān. The former was accordingly placed on the throne, and Malik Nāib employed himself in performing the duties of the Regent. On the very first day he sent Malik Sambhal to Gwālior, with instructions to go there, and to draw the pencil across the eyes of Khizr Khān and his brother Shādī Khān and promised to make him the *barbak* (the master of ceremonies) in return for the service. The ungrateful wretch accepted the task and made the two lights of Sultān 'Alāuddīn's eyes (i.e. his two sons) blind. The mother of Khizr Khān who was called Malkah-i-Jahān was imprisoned and all the money and other valuables, as well as the gold which she possessed, was taken away from her. Prince Mubārak Khān, who afterwards became Sultān Kutbuddīn, was confined in his house. Malik Nāib intended to have him blinded also but as it was destined otherwise, he was not permitted to carry out his nefarious design. Every day, for a short time, he brought the infant Sultān Shihābuddīn on the terrace of the hazār-satun (thousand column) palace and placed him on the throne there, and directed the Amīrs, great officers, chamberlains and ushers to stand in line before him and to do homage to him. When the levee was over, the infant Sultān was sent to his mother inside the *haram*. Malik Kāfūr used then

to go into a pavilion, which he had set up on the terrace of the palace, and used to play, with a few eunuchs, who were his confidants, a game called Turi[1] (which was something like backgammon or dice), and he used always to plot with his special friends how to destroy Sulṭān's ('Alāuddīn's) progeny. It so happened that a band of the old pāiks, whose duty it was to guard the hazār-satun, entered into a conspiracy, exactly thirty-five days after Sultān 'Alāuddīn's death and one night, after the people had left the royal palace, and the doors had been locked, entered the pavilion and slew Malik Nāib and his companions.

Couplet

If evil thou hast done, for good hope not,
For ne'er the tamarisk doth bear the grape.
Oh thou! that in autumn did but barley sow,
Hope not, at harvest time, rich wheat to reap.

They brought prince Mubārak Khān from the prison, and made him the Regent of Sultān Shihābuddīn, in place of Malik Nāib. Mubārak Khān carried on the duties of the Regent for a time, and by his attention to the affairs of government brought the Amīrs and Maliks over to his side. When two months had elapsed he ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Sultān Kutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh. He sent Sultān Shihābuddīn to Gwālior. He also dispersed the pāiks who had slain Malik Nāib, and whose hearts had become filled up with pride and arrogance, and sent them to the different towns in the neighbourhood; and he had their chiefs, who had become old, executed.

Couplet

That weed with fire should be burnt,
From which a thorn some heart doth reach.

At the time when the descendants of Sultān 'Alāuddīn were being destroyed and his offspring cut off, they asked Shaikh Bashīr Dewānah, who was one of the 'absorbed,' "Ah master! what is this, that is happening?" He said "As 'Alāuddīn destroyed the children of his uncle and benefactor, the same thing is happening to him also."

[1] The name of the game is given as Belmurhur or something like that in the lith ed., and Sarlun Tari, Paiwandi respectively in the three MSS.

Couplet

For every good a good, for every ill an ill, reck'ning there is,
For every deed that's done, the universe a recompense provides !

His rule lasted for three months and a few days

SULTĀN KUTBUDDĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN 'ALĀUDDĪN KHALJĪ

When in the year 717 A H,[1] Sultān Kutbuddin sat on the throne at Dehli, he conferred the title of Zafar Khān on Malik Dinār, the keeper of the elephant, that of Sher Khān on Muhammad Moulāi his own uncle, and that of Sadr Jahān on Maulānā Ziāuddin, son of Maulānā Bahāuddin, the calligraphist He distinguished Maulānā Karā Beg, by allowing him to be near himself, and he distributed the various high offices among the Amirs in correspondence with the condition of each He specially honoured a young Barwārī,[2] who had been brought up by Malik Shādi, Nāib Khān Hajib of Sultān 'Alāuddin, and conferred the title of Khusru Khān on him Parwārī is the name of a caste of the menial class, who are found in large numbers in Gujrāt Owing to the great affection which the Sulṭān felt for this man, he made over the whole of Malik Shādi's retainers to him, and as he was madly infatuated with him, he appointed him to the post of Vazir, although the qualifications for the position could not be found in him

Couplet

If you for a well-adorned kingdom wish,
Entrust not, to one new risen, duties high
If you wish not thy greatness to destroy,
Give not great work to one who work hath never done

He became fond of him to such distraction, that he could not be without him for one moment

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[1] This date is incorrect Ziā Barni has 717 A H as the year of Sulṭān Kutbuddin Mubārak Shāh's accession, and he has been followed by Nizāmuddin as well as Badāūni and Ferishtah The correct date 716 A H is given in Amir Khusru's *masnawi* (poem called the Nuhsipehr The Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi fixes the date as the 20th Muharram 716 A H

[2] This word is given as Parwāz in the lith ed, and as Barāo or Parāo in the

In short, the disturbances which had occurred, after the death of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, were suppressed after the accession of Sulṭān Kutbuddīn, and repose and contentment appeared among men. As the new Sultān was young and good natured and kind-hearted, and had endured the sufferings of imprisonment, and the fear of imminent death, he issued an order on the first day of his reign for the release of prisoners, and for the return of men who had been banished. He also granted a reward equal to six months' pay to the whole army, and increased the stipends of the Amīrs and Maliks. He passed an order that the petitions of all suppliants should be submitted to him, a practice which had become obsolete for a long time, and orders were passed in accordance with the requests and prayers contained in them. The stipends and allowances to learned, pious, and other deserving men were increased. The villages, which in the time of Sultān 'Alāuddīn had been annexed to the crown lands, were restored to their owners, and the high rents, and exorbitant demands which became customary at that time, were all abolished. The generous treatment which the Sultān accorded to the people made them happy and contented, and they had dirams and dinars in their purses again. At the same time the rules promulgated by Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, each one of which had some purpose or object on which it was based, were abrogated. Although openly the use of wine was strictly prohibited, yet adultery and turbulence and crimes, and dissipation and debauchery, which had completely disappeared in the time of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, again made their appearance among the people. During the four years and four months that Sultān Kutbuddīn's reign extended, he did nothing but spend all his time in dissipation and in satisfying his desires and in making lavish gifts. During this time no disturbance occurred, which might cause trouble and hardship to the Sulṭān, nor any calamity that might endanger the happiness of the people.

As before this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn had summoned Alp Khān from Gujrāt, and after that, disturbances and revolts had occurred there, Malik Kamāluddīn was sent there to suppress them, but he on arrival

MSS. The name is Parwari in both Elliot and Thomas, though the latter gives it as the equivalent of برداری Barwari. Parwaris are men of low caste, chiefly employed as watchmen, gatekeepers, porters, etc.

there attained to martyrdom[1] Owing to this, the rebels gathered greater strength Sultān Kutbuddīn considered the suppression of the rebellion in Gujrāt the most urgent of his duties, and sent Ain-ul-Malk Multāni with a well-equipped army to that province. He arrived there; fought with the men who had created the disturbance, routed them, and brought Nahrwālah and all the cities in the province anew under subjection, and reduced the zamindārs to humility and obedience. After this Sultān Kutbuddīn married the daughter of Malik Dīnār, and sent the latter to Gujrāt, after conferring on him the title of Zafar Khān He, on arrival there, completely cleared the province of the thorns and weeds of the insurgents and rebels in the course of three or four months, so that no vestige of them remained He obtained much gold from the Rājāhs and Zamindārs of the province, and sent it to the Treasury

After the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Harpal Deo, the son-in-law of Rām Deo,[2] had taken possession of the country of Deogīr Sultān Kutbuddīn in the second year of his reign marched with his troops against that place, and he appointed the son of a slave, of the name of Shāhīn, who had been called Bāwīldā, and on whom he conferred the title of Wafā-i-Mulk, to be the regent at Dehli during his absence After doing so, he advanced towards the Dakin When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Deogīr, Harpāl Deo and other Zamindārs, who had assembled together, being unable to withstand him dispersed [in different directions] The Sultān remained at Deogīr for a short time, and sent a number of celebrated Amīrs and great Khāns in pursuit of Harpāl Deo They performed the task assigned to them, and brought Harpāl Deo prisoner He was flayed alive by order of Sultān Kutbuddīn, and his head was suspended from the gate of Deogīr The Sultān was delayed[3]

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[1] According to Ziā Barni, Kamāluddīn Garg was sent to put down the revolt of Alp Khān in Gujrāt but he was slain by the rebels (Elliot, iii, 214)

[2] It is said, in Elliot, vol. iii, p 215, that Harpāl Deo and Rām Deo had taken possession of Deogīr but according to the Tabakat-i-Akbari it was Harpāl Deo the son-in-law of Rām Deo who did so

[3] The cause of the delay is not mentioned in the Ṭabakat-i-Akbarī except that it is said that it was due to بار ماندگی, which may be translated as want of preparation, but from the Tārikh-i-Firozshāhī (Elliot, vol iii, p 215) it appears that the delay was due to the setting in of the rains

there for some time, and during that time the Marhatta country also was brought under subjection. The country of Deogīr was entrusted to Malik Yek-lakhi, who was one of the 'Alāī slaves, and Marhat was divided in fiefs among the Amīrs. A canopy and durbāsh was then conferred on Khusru Khān, and he was nominated for the command of the army which was sent to M'ābar, and the Sultān himself returned towards Dehli On the way, he was most of the time engaged in drinking and dissipation. During this time, owing to the great heedlessness and negligence of Sulṭān Kutbuddīn and his constant indulgence in drink, a desire for rule entered the head of Malik Asaduddīn who was a cousin of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and he entered into a conspiracy with some of the commanders of the army, and determined that after the Sultān should have passed Ghāti Sāgūn, and should have gone into the *haram*, at which time there would be no sentries or *nāiks* or any other guards near him, they would enter the *haram* and despatch him It so happened, however, that that very night, when the Sultān would have passed Ghāti Sāgūn, one of the conspirators gave information to him of the state of things The Sultān halted where he was, and ordered that Malik Asaduddīn should be seized, and executed, and twenty-nine sons of Yagharsh Khān (father of Malik Asaduddīn) who were at Dehli, and had no connection with the conspiracy, and some of whom were quite young, were all slain by order of the Sultān When the Sultān arrived at Jhāin, he sent Shādī Kath, the commandant of the guards, to Gwālior, so that he might put Khizr Khān, Shādi Khān and Malik Shihābuddīn, sons of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, who had already been blinded, to death, and might take their families and children to Dehli Sultān Kutbuddīn always behaved ill to Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā, Al'Aziz (may his tomb be holy [1]), because Khizr Khān had been one of his disciples, and had always known him to be one of his well-wishers, and he always showed enmity towards him, and loosened his tongue in taunts against him

Couplets

When God on one doth wish disgrace and shame to bring,
He doth ever incline him to revile the good,
And when, to hide the ill in one, he doth incline,
That man he doth dispose the sin in others to hide.

When Sultān Kutbuddīn arrived in Dehli, and found Gujrāt and Dehli and all the country under subjection, and saw that all the Amīrs and Maliks were humble, submissive and obedient to him, and there was no claimant left to the throne, the intoxication of wine, youth, and power produced vainglory in his heart, and he refused to consult with anyone in passing orders, or in the disposal of state affairs, nor did he listen to the words of any sincere well-wisher. If any one, actuated by a desire to serve him, made any representation to him which did not coincide with his own views, he at once rejected it, and loosened his tongue in derision and abuse of the counsellor, so that no one dared, even by a hint or a suggestion, to submit to him what he considered to be for his welfare. All his good qualities were changed into evil ones, and he began to act with violence and cruelty. Like his father, he began unjustly to imbrue his hand in blood. Among those of others, he ordered the execution of Zafar Khān, the feudatory of Gujrāt, who was the pillar of his state, although he had committed no offence of any kind. After that, he ordered the execution of Shāhin, on whom he had conferred the title of Wafa-i-Mulk, without any cause whatever, simply at the instigation of the envious. He began to do other things, which were calculated to cause the destruction of his power, and to bring about the downfall of his empire. He frequently adorned himself with the garments and trinkets of women, and in that guise, appeared in public assemblies. He used to call ribald and dissolute women on the terrace of the Kiosk of a thousand pillars, and ordered them to treat, with great contumely, great nobles like 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Karā Beg, who held fourteen appointments, and others like them, and insult them with obscene pleasantries and jests. He also told them to do other indecent things, so that they came before men in a state of nudity, and used to befoul their garments. Owing to the enmity which Sultān Kutbuddīn had against his reverence Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā, he prevented people from going to his abode, and spoke disrespectfully and contemptuously of him. He also honoured the Shaikhzādah Jām, who was one of the Shaikh's enemies, by giving him special access to himself, and he brought Shaikh Ruknuddīn Multānī from Multān to show his hatred for the Shaikh.

After he had ordered Zafar Khān to be put to death, he sent Hisāmuddīn, who was a brother of Khusru Khān, by the mother's side,[1] with a number of Amīrs and Maliks, and made all the retainers of Zafar Khān over to him When he arrived in Gujrāt, he collected all the Barāos (or Parwārīs), and wanted to rise in rebellion, but the Amīrs who were with him, seized and imprisoned him, and sent him to Sultān Kutbuddīn The latter, however, in order to please Khusru Khān, who was his brother, released him at once, and honoured him with royal favours This became another reason for the estrangement and fear of the Amīrs and of the great officers of state Malik Wahiduddīn Kureishī, who was noted for his bravery and ability, was, however, sent to Gujrāt in place of Hisāmuddīn, and he introduced rule and order into the province, which had been left in a condition of disorder and ruin all by the latter Intelligence arrived at this time, that Malik Yaklakhi, the Governor of Deogīr, had raised the standard of hostility, and had risen in revolt The Sultān sent a number of great Amīrs, with a large army, for the destruction of Yaklakhi, and the suppression of the rebellion They went, and by their able tactics they seized Malik Yaklakhi, and the other insurgents, who had been the cause of the disturbance, and brought them to Dehli The Sultān ordered the nose and the ears of Malik Yaklakhi to be cut off and inflicted various punishments on his companions Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī was then appointed to rule the province of Deogīr, and Malik Tājuddīn, the son of Khwājah 'Alāuddīn, the secretary, was appointed to be his assistant, and they were sent to that province Malik Wahiduddīn was then summoned from Gujrāt, and the post of Vazīr and the title of Tāj-ul-Mulk were conferred on him

When Khusru Khān who was nominated for Ma'bar arrived there he found that the Rāys of the province had fled with all their treasures and valuables He seized a hundred and odd elephants which they had to leave behind There was a merchant of the

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[1] A brother by the mother's side probably meant an uterine brother In Elliot, vol iii, p 218, he is, however, said to have been the maternal uncle of Khusru Khān, but it appears from a note that he is described in the original as برادر مادر and elsewhere as برادر of Khusru Khān.

name of Khwājah Taki, who had much wealth, and who had not fled under the belief that, as it was a Musalmān army that was coming, he would not be injured in any way He was however seized, and all his property was taken from him and he was then killed Khusru Khān spent the rainy season there, and owing to the baseness and recklessness, which were ingrained in his nature, the thought of rebellion entered his head, and he determined to kill the Amīrs who were with him, and set up an independent authority in Ma'bar Malik Tamar, the Governor of Chanderi, Malik Mal Afghān and Malik Talbaghah Yaghdah, who were the chief Amīrs, who had been deputed to Ma'bar, became aware of Khusru Khān's designs, and started for Dehli without giving any intimation to him He, however, became frightened at the threatening language of the Amīrs, and started for Dehli and travelled by forced marches The Amīrs named before put him in a pālki and sent him in seven days from Deogīr to Dehli [1] They fondly imagined that as they had shown so much anxiety for his welfare, they would receive many favours from the Sulṭān, but when Khusru Khān reached the royal threshold, and obtained a private audience, he made various complaints against them, and said, "they have accused me of creating disturbances, and raising a rebellion, and are determined to procure my death, but as God has willed otherwise, I have escaped from their clutches, by various subterfuges" The Sulṭān who loved him, and was mad about him, took his lies to be truths and was annoyed with the Amīrs, and when they arrived in Dehli, although they described Khusru Khān's nefarious designs, and produced witnesses to support their representations, it was all of no avail The Sulṭān acted like a tyrant, rejected all their representations,

[1] The conduct of the Amirs as described here was illogical They are said to have started for Dehli (apparently to bring Khusru Khān's designs to the notice of the Sultan), and yet they sent him on ahead to tell his own story Zia Barni gives a different and more probable version According to him, the other Amīrs induced or forced Khusru Khān to return to Dehli, so that he might not go on hatching his plots The Sulṭān was, however, so infatuated with his favourite, and was so anxious to see him, that he sent relays of bearers with a litter, and the minion was taken from Deogir to Dehli, in seven or eight days Once in Dehli he, of course, had everything his own way (Elliot, vol iii, pp 219-20)

and directed that Malik Tamar should not be allowed to make his obeisance, and taking away the government of Chanderi from him, made it over to his son[1] He also ordered that Malik Talbaghah Yaghdah should be struck on the mouth, and his fief was taken away from him and he was imprisoned The witnesses were also punished When the other Amīrs saw these high-handed proceedings of the Sultān, they became deaf and dumb, and although they were aware of Khusru Khān's deceit and treachery, they shut their eyes, and never breathed a word, but on the other hand, owing to their utter helplessness, they threw themselves under his protection

Couplets

When Fate all power to the wicked and sinful gave,
It ruined alas! the treasures of the earth,
The thrones of the mighty to the base did yield,
Behold alas! what fruit at last it bore

When Khusru Khān saw his enemies beaten and crushed, and knew that none of them would dare to speak ill of him to the Sultān, he girded up his loins, even more strongly than before, to proceed in the path of deceit and treachery, and determined to make an effort for the crown One day he spoke thus in private to the Sultān, "When your majesty, owing to your great kindness to me, sends me at the head of your armies to distant provinces, to conquer them, the Amīrs who are sent with me have larger followings of their own tribe and clan with them (than I have), I am therefore compelled to submit to them There are many Barāos, of my clan and tribe in Gujrāt If your majesty permits it, I can also collect them, and can thus become a person of position " The Sultān acceded to his request, and granted him permission to send for the men of his own tribe Khusru Khān, then, in a very short time, collected a large body of Barāos, and his power and grandeur were increased, and he became even more diligent than before in his efforts for accom-

[1] According to Ziā Barnī, the fief of Chanderi was not conferred on Malik Tamar's son, but on the Parwārī boy, i e apparently on Khusru Khān himself Malik Talbaghah Yaghdah was, according to the same authority, deprived of sight, as well beaten on the mouth, etc (see Elliot, vol iii, p 220).

plishing his designs. He made Bahāuddīn,[1] the secretary of the Sultān, whom the latter had dismissed and driven out, a friend and confederate; and associated with him other turbulent men, like the son of Kurah-i-Kimāi and Yusuf Sūfī, and other similar men, and waited for an opportunity. At this time, the Sultān went on a hunting expedition in the direction of Sarsāwah. Khusru Khān and the Barāos wanted to assassinate the Sultān there. The son of Kurah-i-Kimār and Yusuf Sūfī forbade this and said, "Let us suppose that we succeed in killing the Sultān while he is out hunting, it is quite likely that the troops with him would attack and slay us. It is best that, when the Sultān will be on the terrace of the Hazār-satūn, where it is always possible to find him alone, we will come upon him suddenly and slay him, and summoning the Amīrs from their houses, keep them as hostages. If they submit to us so much the better, otherwise we can slay them also."

When the Sultān returned from the hunting expedition, he again occupied himself, according to his usual custom, with drink and dissipation.

Couplets

With joyful heart he thence returned,
From hill and wood to the feast returned,
Oblivious of malicious fate,
And what it had in store for him.

Khusru Khān having become more eager for the attainment of his object, said to the Sultān one night when they were alone together, "I am always in attendance on your majesty, and I pass many nights in the Toshkhānah. Some of my relations have come from Gujrāt in hopes of a share of your majesty's kindness. They come to see me, but the palace gate keepers refuse to admit them. If your majesty so order, they may be permitted to come into the palace." Then the Sultān ordered that the keys of the palace gates should be made over to Khusru Khān. The king said to him "Who is there whom I trust more than I trust you and your brothers? In reality the

[1] According to the Tārikh-i-Firozshāhī, the Sultān had quarrelled with this man about a woman.

superintendence of the entire palace is in your hands" Khusru Khān took the delivery of the keys to him, as an auspicious omen, and as the happiest thing that could have happened, and saw all his plans crowned with success

Couplets

When Firoz saw this state of things,
That omen as proof of victory took,
His heart, in that auspicious sign,
Although so strong, new strength did find

In short, when the gate and indeed the whole palace came under the charge of the Barāos, that reckless and blood-thirsty body came, in large numbers with arms and weapons, and congregated day and night in the lower apartments occupied by Khusru Khān, and waited for the most suitable moment Gradually, Khusru Khān's designs became patent to all, but every one knew also, that he was completely the master of the situation, while they were totally helpless No one dared to utter a word One day Kāzī Zainuddīn, who bore the title of Kāzī Khān, and was a man of much erudition, as well as of action, and who had been the Sultān's tutor in penmanship, made up his mind, if necessary to sacrifice his own life, and preferring the welfare of the court and of the people, to his own good, thus addressed the Sultān –

Couplets

"Oh mighty king! may wisdom ever guide thy path,
May victory be thy friend, and thy foes be worsted all!
May the Lord of the earth, the asylum of created things,
Protect and save thee! oh conqueror of the world

We who have been brought up under your majesty and your majesty's father, and see the safety of the people in your majesty's well-being, if we should omit or neglect to tell you the truth, we should wrong ourselves, and God's creatures, as well as your majesty" Then he described the preposterous ambition, and the nefarious design of Khusru Khān, the multitude of the Barāos and their meeting every night in Khusru Khān's apartments, and said, "It behoves your majesty to enquire into this matter, for if it is true, then it is your

When the people saw the Sultān's head every one went to a corner (i e kept aloof) and the noise ceased A large number of men who were present in the palace were massacred that night When the Barāos had finished with the Sultān, Randhol and Jahariā with a few others went into the *haram*, and brutally dragged away Princes Farīd Khān and Mangu Khān, who were sons of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, from their mothers, and slew them There was great tumult in the *haram* and the Barāos stretched out their arms for plunder and seized whatever they could lay hands upon

Couplet

Thus passed away that imperial throne, and that great power !
Time did it all destroy, and raze it to the ground !

After a time, when they had finished the massacre of the princes, they kept Malik 'Ain-ul Mulk Multānī, Malik Wahiduddīn Kureishī, Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, who afterwards became known as Sultān Muhammad Tughlak Shāh, and the sons of Kirān Beg, and other great Amirs whom they had summoned that night, under a guard, on the terrace of the Hazār Satūn, and by the morning a large number of Barāos and other associates of Khusru Khān collected round them When the morning dawned, [Khusru Khān] sent for the great officers and the learned men of the city, and had the Khutbah read in his own name He ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sultān Nasiruddīn He then by means of various tricks and subterfuges, got into his power some of the celebrated Amīrs, of whose hostility he was afraid and ordered them to be put to death He made over the family and property of the murdered Kāzī Ziāuddīn to Randhol, but the wife of the Kāzī saved herself by flight He conferred the title of Khān-i-Khānān on his own brother Hisamuddīn, that of Rāy-i-Rāyān on Randhol, and that of Āzām-ul-Mulk on the son of Kurah-i-Kimār [1] Among the Amīrs of Sultān Kutbuddīn, he conferred the title of 'Ālām

[1] His name according to the Tārikh-i Firozshāhī was Bahauddīn, and he seems therefore to be identical with the dismissed *dabir* or secretary of Sulṭān Kutbuddīn. According to the same authority Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī on whom the title of 'Alam Khān was conferred, had no connection with the usurper The title was given to him to keep up a delusive show (see Elliot vol iii p 224)

Khān or 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī, and having entrusted the office of Vazir to Malik Tājul-Mulk Wahīduddīn Kuraishī, he confirmed his sons in their high offices He had Jahariā, the murderer of Sultān Kutbuddīn, dressed in pearls and gems and raised him in rank by granting him various favours He distributed the wives of Sultān Kutbuddīn among the Barāos, and himself took his [principal] wife [1]

Couplets

Oh earth ! if blessings thou dost want, bear not,
If they go wrong, what good for thee to bear
Whose secret power is strongest, I know it now
And on thy open deed I must ever weep [2]

As most of the Barāos were Hindus, the Musalmān religion was overthrown, and the manners and customs of the Hindus acquired currency and renown Idolatry and the destruction of mosques became common Khusru Khān squandered much money in order to gain the hearts of the people, and spent the money in most of the treasuries in gifts and presents As Ghāzī Malik was one of the grandees of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and had hosts of retainers, and was the chieftain of a tribe, and held the fief of Dibālpur, and Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, his son, was adorned with bravery, liberality, and generosity and was one of the 'Alāi Amīrs, Khusru Khān considered it his most important duty to bring these over to his side, and was always thinking what he could do to bring this about He accordingly conferred the post of master of the horse on Mālik Fakhruddīn Jūnā and endeavoured in every way to please him, and he also asked Ghāzī Malik to come to Dehli The latter, brave and God-fearing man of worth as he was, was fired with hatred, and girded himself with the girdle of energy, to avenge the blood of the sons of his patron, and sent letters and messages to the Amīrs of the neighbouring districts, and exerted himself to destroy the ungrateful wretch At this time Malik

[1] The two words which have been translated wives and [principal] wife are حرم and زن The former may mean the ladies of the royal family generally The principal wife appears to have been Deval Debi, the Hindu princess, who had successively been the wife of Khizir Khān and Sultān Kutbuddīn

[2] The meaning of these lines is not at all clear

Fakhruddīn Jūnā escaped one night from Dehli, and by rapid marches, took the way to Dibālpur. Khusru Khān woke up from his sleep of carelessness, and grieved at this sign of the approach of the downfall of his greatness. He despatched the son of Ḳurah-i-Kimar, who was the muster-master of the kingdom, with other noted Amīrs in pursuit of Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā. They pursued him as far as the town of Sarsuti and then returned. Ghāzī Malik had a few days before this left two hundred horsemen in the fortress of Sarsuti, and had repaired and strengthened it, in anticipation of such a day. Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā took some of the horsemen with him, and arrived in Dibālpur. His father was delighted at his coming and ordered the drum of joy to be beaten, and having girded up his loins more strongly, to avenge [the wrongs of his patron's family] busied himself with equipping his army, and determined entirely to root out the Barāos.

Khusru Khān sent his brother whom he had named the Khān-i-Khānān, and on whom he now conferred a canopy and a Durbāsh, and Yusuf Sufi to whom he granted the title of Sufi Khān, with other men whom he trusted, and who were devoted to him, against Ghāzi Malik. At this juncture Malik Bahrām Abīh, who was the Governor of Uchch and Multān, entered the service of Ghāzi Malik with a well-appointed army with the object of punishing the ungrateful wretches. When Khusru Khān's army came near, Ghāzi Malik also advanced to meet that despicable band, and after a conflict and battle was crowned with success and victory. Khusru Khān's brother and Yusuf Khān barely escaped with their lives by flight, and returned to Dehli and the whole of the army and the paraphernalia of state fell into Ghāzi Malik's hands. The latter became emboldened, and filled with new hope, by this victory, and equipped his army (anew) for the destruction of that God-forsaken wretch, and advanced to Dehli. The ingrate Khusru Khān having done his utmost in collecting men by squandering money, came out of the city, and assembled his army in the plain near the 'Alāi reservoir, and made an advance of two years' and a half's pay to his men. At this time 'Āin-ul-Mulk Multānī who was one of his great nobles fled towards Ujain and Dhar. This increased Khusru Khān's mortification and added to his confusion. Then in the neighbourhood of Indarpath the bands of the righteous and of the iniquitous met. Right

prevailed over wrong, and Khusru Khān was defeated Malik Talbagha Nāgori and the son of Kurah-i-Kimār, who had received the title of Shāista Khān, and who were the mainstays of the power of the wretched Khusru Khān, were killed, and Khusru Khān, having with great bravery and courage[1] fought to the end of the day, fled to Tilpat His canopy, standard, and army fell into Ghāzi Malik's hands Khusru Khān turned back from Tilpat in utter panic, perplexity and loneliness, and entering a garden of Malik Shādī, who had been his first patron, concealed himself there The next day he was brought before Ghāzi Malik, and was executed

Couplets

The tree that thou hadst reared, hath borne its fruit,
That fruit thou now dost see thy eyes before
If it is but thorn, thou *that* didst plant !
If softest silk, it is that thou didst grow !

The high and low of the city hastened to welcome Ghāzi Malik and congratulated him, and offered felicitations on his victory The next day he rode from Indarpath to the Kiosk of Sīrī, and sat with the grandees and the high officers of state in the Hazār Satūn, and performed rites of mourning for Sultān Kutbuddīn, and his sons, and wept and made lamentations After that he raised his voice and said, "I have been brought up under the beneficence of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and Sultān Kutbuddīn, and in gratitude for their benefactions, and not on account of any greed for rank or wealth, have I drawn my sword against their enemies, and have avenged their wrongs Now you who are present in this assembly do you know of any offspring of theirs that may be still in existence If so bring him forward, so that we may place him on the throne and we will all stand, with girded loins, before him, and render him service If there is no descendant of theirs left, (select) any one whom you may deem to be fit to sit on the throne, and to rule the kingdoms, and I am ready to serve him " The

[1] The Tārikh-i-Firozshāhī gives a very different account of Khusru Khān's behaviour. It says, "The effiminate wretch could not bear the attack of men He fled, and, leaving his army, he took the road to Tilpat " (Elliot, vol iii, pp 127-8) That Nizāmuddīn Ahmed could give his just due to a man like Khusru Khān shows what a judicial temper he had.

great men who were in the assembly all said, "No sons of either of the two kings are now alive Thou hast withstood the attacks of the Mughals since a long time, and hast made thyself the shield of all the people of Hindustān and hast established a great claim on them Now that thou hast again done this great deed, and hast avenged thy benefactors on their enemies, this is a further claim that thou hast on the gratitude of the nobles, and commons of the land There is no one fitter than thee for sovereignty and for supreme command" They said this, and taking Ghāzī Malik by the hand placed him on the throne, and gave him the title of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Tughlak Shāh, and nobles and commons offered homage to him

Couplets

Th' auspicious king, th' destroyer of his foes,
That under omens good the throne did ascend,
With victory and with success adorned,
A joyance new did he in the world produce

Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Tughlak Shāh

Sultān Ghiāsuddīn ascended the throne in the Green Kiosk in the year A H 720, and made proclamations of justice and beneficence Disturbances which had been awakened fell asleep again, and a new glory appeared in the government of the land In a week, he so arranged all affairs of state, as would not have been possible for others in the course of years

May that auspicious tree bear richest fruit,
Under whose shade may one in comfort live,
Now with its fruit, it doth the table deck,
Now with its shade, it soothes the tired limbs

Wherever he found any of the remaining members of the family and descendants of Sultān 'Alāuddīn and Sultān Kutbuddīn, he gladdened their hearts with stipends and pensions He punished those who had taken any part in bringing about the marriage of the widow of Sultān Kutbuddīn with Khusru Khān He granted favours to the Amirs and Maliks of Sultān Kutbuddīn and increased their salaries, and confirmed their fiefs and distributed the high offices of the empire among them He treated Khwājah Khatīr, and Malik Anwar

Juneidi, and Khwājah Muhazzab Buzurg, who had always possessed the confidence of former Bādshāhs, with great consideration; and granted them permission to sit in his assemblies, and consulted them about the laws and rules which previous Sultāns had framed for securing the stability of their empires, and for regulating the affairs of the people, and he acted in accordance with such laws and rules He abstained from all acts which might cause injury and trouble to the people He promoted to high rank any one in whom he found any trace of loyalty and devotion, and very soon distinguished with his royal favours any one who performed any worthy service In matters of government he acted with moderation, and refrained from all kinds of excesses

He granted to Sultān Muhammad, whose countenance was marked with the signs of greatness, the title of Ulugh Khān, conferred a canopy on him, and declared him to be the heir to the throne. Among the other princes he conferred the title of Bahrām Khān on one, of Zafar Khān on the second, of Mahmūd Khān on the third, and of Nasrat Khān on the fourth He granted the title of Kashlu Khān on Bahrām Abīh whom he called his brother, and entrusted him with the fief of Multān and the whole country of Sind He made his nephew (brother's son) Malik Asaduddīn, the Barbak, and Bahauddīn, the son of his sister, the Ariz-i-Mumalik and confirmed the fief of Sāmānah on him He entrusted the direction of the office of the Vazārat on Malik Shādī, who was his brother and son-in-law He granted the title of Tātār Khān, and the fief of Zafarābād, to one whom he had called his son The office of the Vazīr of Deogīr he conferred on Malik Burhānuddīn the father of Kutlugh Khān, and that of Chief Judge on Kāzī Sadruddīn The office of the Kāzī of Dehli was entrusted to Kāzī Samāuddīn The deputy muster mastership of Gujrāt was granted to Malik Tājuddīn Ja'far The other appointments were also distributed according to the qualifications of the various claimants No office was conferred on any one, until the Sultān had first ascertained his qualifications for it. He did not leave able men without employment

In fixing the revenue of the various territories, he acted with moderation, and did not listen to the words of those who made high offers If any one forcibly realized from his Jāgīr more than was fixed, the Sultān objected to, and cancelled, the transaction If any one

deducted any amount from the revenue payable by him, on account of payments to his retainers, and the amount did not reach the latter, he was punished, and the amount was recovered from him The Sulṭān resumed the sums which Khusru Khān had bestowed on various persons, in his time of distress and perplexity, and caused it to be paid into the Treasury Any one who delayed in the payment of these amounts suffered from his anger and severity On many occasions, he sent for the notables and common people and conferred rewards on every one of them, according to their positions and their just claims Whenever a letter announcing a victory came from any part of his dominions or the nuptials of any of the princes took place, or a child was born in his family, he gave rewards to all the Judges, and the high officers, and the learned men, and Shaikhs, and nobles, according to their circumstances He kept himself acquainted with the conditions of those who lived in retirement, and showed kindness to them, and whenever he heard that any one in the kingdom was in poverty and distress, he busied himself in removing it

Couplets

When fortune with that king was joined,
She laughed and blossomed like the rose
He opened the door of his treasury,
His soldiers were with gold and gems enriched

He sent once every month for his children, and dependants, and officers, and ministers, and enquired about them, and if he found that any of them was in distress or want, he remedied it He adopted the methods introduced by Sultān 'Alāuddīn, in respect of the descriptive rolls of the troopers, and the branding of horses, and the prices and examination of the latter and of the maintenance of retainers Out of the amount which the soldiers had received from Khusru Khān, he granted a year's pay to them, and the balance was entered in the register of advances against their names, and orders were passed that this sum was to be gradually recovered from their salaries for future years He resumed the stipends, allowances and endowments which Sultān Kutbuddīn had improperly granted through his carelessness and infatuation, and granted them to really deserving persons The

equity and justice of Sulṭān Tughlak Shāh produced an equality among the people, and even the names of turbulance and disaffection disappeared He shut the doors against the incursions of the Mughals in such a way that during the whole of his reign they never felt any hankering for the invasion of Hindustān He had a great desire for the erection of splendid buildings He ordered the foundation of the fort of Tughlakābād and of other edifices He was a virtuous man and possessed charming attributes, and he strictly complied with all the directions and prohibitions of religion, and spent much of his time in devotion He kept up at nights, and persevered in supererogatory devotion He had no hankering for intoxicants, and was emphatic in prohibiting the use of wine His behaviour towards his domestics, slaves, old servants, and dependants was in no way different, during the period of his sovereignty, from what it had been at the time when he was a simple Malik

In the year 721 A H , he sent Sultān Muhammad, who had the title of Ulugh Khān, with some of his own old officers, and all the renowned nobles, to Arangal The latter departed in that direction with a vast army, and with great pomp and grandeur When he reached Deogīr, he took the nobles who were there with him, and marched rapidly till he arrived in the country of Tilang and ravaged and plundered it Rāi Rudar Deo and the other Rāys of the neighbourhood shut themselves up in the fort of Arangal Ulugh Khān began to erect battering-rams, and to run mines, round it Every day many people were killed in both sides At last when the army of Ulugh Khān made a determined attack and the fall of the citadel became imminent, Rāi Rudar Deo sent ambassadors to Sulṭān Muhammad (i e Ulugh Khān), and offered him riches, and elephants and precious gems, and also promised that he would send the same tribute, in future years, that he used to send to Sultān 'Alāuddīn Ulugh Khān did not accept these terms, and made such vigorous exertions for the capture of the citadel, that it was on the point of being taken [when the following events happened] It had been arranged that messengers should come from Dehli, twice a week, by *dāk chowki*, and should bring intelligence of everything being safe It happened, however, that for a whole month no intelligence came Owing to the roads

being unsafe, the *dāk chowki* had become disorganized Ubaid, the poet and the Shaikh-Zāda-i-Damshki who were the source of all mischief and trouble, but who had gained access to Ulugh Khān, spread a false report of the death of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Tughlak Shāh, in Dehli; and of an usurper having seized the thrones Owing to this rumour great confusion found its way among the soldiers. Ubaid, the poet and the Shaikh-Zāda-i-Damashki held a secret meeting with Malik Tamar, Malik Tigīn, Malik Mal Afghān, and Malik Kāfur, the keeper of the seal, and told them that as Ulugh Khān considered them to be among the great Maliks of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and as such as entitled to a share of the empire, he had determined that he would have them all seized and executed They were alarmed on hearing this, and a great panic fell on the soldiers Each one did what came into his head and fled Ulugh Khān started in great perplexity for Deogīr, with some of his special retainers The men in the citadel came out, plundered the rear of the army, and slew a large number of the soldiers

In the meantime, the *dāk chowki*, which in the language of the people was called ālāgh, was reorganized, and messengers came from Dehli with the intelligence that Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Tughlak Shāh was seated on the throne of Dehli, in health and safety Ulugh Khān, on reaching Deogīr reassembled his dispersed forces The four nobles who had deserted together from the army, separated from one another, and their retinues and servants were slain, and their arms and accoutrements fell into the hands of the zamindārs Malik Tamar with a few men went among the zamindārs, and there perished The Hindus slew Malik Tigīn, the Governor of Audh, and sent his skin to Ulugh Khān They also seized Malik Mal Afghān, Ubaid, the poet, and the other man who had created the disturbance, and sent them to Ulugh Khān in Deogīr, and the latter sent them to his father in Dehli The members of their families and their dependants had already been seized in Dehli Sultan Ghiāsuddīn sat in state, in public, in the plain of Sirī, and ordered that Ubaid, the poet, and the other turbulent men, should be impaled alive, and that the members of their families and their dependants should be thrown under the feet of elephants Ulugh Khān arrived in Dehli after this; and was made happy by his father conferring many favours on him

After four months, Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn again sent Ulugh Khan to Arangal with a grand retinue and an immense army. This time Ulugh Khān advanced into the Tilang country and seized the fort of Bīdar, as well as the commandant of the garrison He then advanced to Arangal, besieged it and in a short time captured the outer as well as the inner fort He seized the Rāys of the country with their families and retainers, and obtained possession of their elephants, goods, and treasures He sent a letter announcing the victory, and that letter was read from the pulpits in Dehli, Sirī and Tughlakābad The people erected domes and made rejoicings Rāi Rudai Deo was sent to Dehli with his elephants and treasures under the escort of Malik Bīdar who had the title of Kadr Khān and Khwājah Hāji, the Deputy Muster-master of the Empire The name of Arangal was changed to Sultānpur, and the whole country of Tilang was brought under control and Governors and other officers were appointed Ulugh Khān then realized a year's tribute, and went to the country of Jājnagar He captured forty elephants there, and sent them for the service of the Sultān

After Arangal and the country round it had been subjugated, and Sultān Ghiāsuddīn had become successful in all directions, some of his well-wishers[1] made representations to him of the tyranny, and oppression, and misbehavior of the rulers of Bangālah, and incited and induced the Sultān to invades Lakhnauti The Sultān having resolved upon the invasion sent for Ulugh Khān from Arangal, and leaving him as Regent, at Dehli, marched with an immense army, and great pomp and eclat, towards Lakhnauti As the fame of Sultān Tughlak Shāh's courage and bravery had spread all over the country, as soon as his great shadow was cast on the country of Tirhut, Sultān Nasiruddin, the ruler of Lakhnauti, and other Rāys and Zamindārs, who ruled in that country, came forward to meet him, and offered him homage The Sultān sent Tātār Khān, whom he had honoured with the name of son, and who had been entrusted with the government of Zafarābād, with a large army, in advance The latter brought the whole of the country under subjection He brought Sultān Bahādur Shāh, the ruler of Sunārgām, who had offered some resistance,

[1] According to the Tārikh-i-Firozshāhī these men were certain noblemen who came from Lakhnauti itself (see Elliot, vol iii, p 234)

with a chain round his neck, and he sent all the elephants which had been taken in the course of the expedition into the Sulṭān's elephant stables An immense quantity of other booty was acquired The Sulṭān conferred a canopy and a *durbash* on Sultān Nasiruddīn, the ruler of Lakhnauti, who had sworn allegiance to him, and sent him again to Lakhnauti Sunārgām was absorbed into the empire The letter announcing the conquest of Lakhnauti was read in Dehli, and domes were erected and rejoicings made The Sultān, crowned with victory and renown, returned towards Dehli, and leaving the army behind marched rapidly, converting two stages into one

When Ulugh Khān heard that his father was coming back by rapid marches he ordered that a pavilion should be erected near Afghānpur, which is three karohs from Tughlakābād, in the course of three days So that when the Sultān arrived there, he might halt and pass the night in it, and the citizens might come there to welcome him, and render him service Then when the morning would break, he would start for the capital, at an auspicious moment, with imperial pomp and grandeur When the Sultān arrived in the pavilion, there were rejoicings in Tughlakābād, and triumphal domes were erected Ulugh Khān accompanied by the Maliks and Amīrs and the great men of the city went out to meet him, and were honoured with the permission to do him homage The Sultān entered the pavilion, with the people who had come out to meet him, and a table was spread When the food had been taken away and the men thought that the Sultān would mount at once, they came out without washing their hands The Sultān remained there, to wash his hands At this moment the roof of the pavilion fell in, and the Sultān fell under it, and was united with the Divine mercy His reign extended to a period of four years and a few months

It has been stated in some histories, that as the pavilion had been newly erected, and had not set properly, and the elephants which Sultan Tughlak Shāh had brought with him, from Bangālah, were driven round it, the ground subsided and the roof fell in It cannot, however, remain hidden from the minds of the intelligent, that the erection of the pavilion, for which there was no necessity whatever, creates a suspicion that Ulugh Khān encompassed his father's death It is evident that the author of the 'Tārikh-i-Firozshāhī" which

was written in the reign of Sultān Firoz, who had great regard for Sultān Muhammad, was reticent about the matter, out of regard for the reigning monarch The humble writer has heard this repeatedly from trustworthy persons, and it is well-known, that as Sulṭān Tughlak was displeased with his reverence Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā, he sent a message to the latter, telling him to leave Dehli, by the time he would himself arrive there, and the Shaikh said, "Dehli is far off yet" These words have become proverbial among the people of Hindustān It is also well-known, that Sulṭān Muhammad had great faith in, and unbounded respect for, the Shaikh But knowledge is in God! The same year Shaikh Nizāmuddīn—may his grave be holy!—and Amīr Khusru departed from this troublous bodily existence to the world of spirits

Sultān Muhammad Tughlak Shāh

He was the son and heir of Sultān Ghiasuddīn Tughlak After his father's death, he ascended the throne at Tughlakābād He remained at that place for a period of forty days, to arrange all matters connected with the government of the empire, and for the selection of an auspicious moment After that he sat on the throne of the ancient kings in the old palace, according to the usual custom, and assumed the title of Muhammad Shāh They sounded the drum of joy in the city, and erected domes, and adorned the markets, and the lanes At the time when he entered the capital, such large quantities of gold and silver tangahs were scattered over his canopy, as had never been done in any other age Sultān Muhammad was one of the wonders of the creation, an embodiment of contradictory qualities At one time he wanted to conquer the seven climes like Alexander, at another he exerted his energy to bring *jins* as well as men within the circle of his rule, and again he felt a longing to combine earthly with spiritual rule, so that he might in his own person pass both temporal and spiritual decrees He was very strict in the observance of fasts and prayers, and in the performance of acts of supererogatory devotion, and of piety, and in giving stipends and alms He completely refrained from all prohibited things, and intoxicants, and from everything else to which the name of sin might be applied (On the other hand) he was

so severe in his punishments, and in unjustly shedding blood, and in troubling and tormenting the creatures of God, that he appeared to be bent upon emptying the world of all human beings At the same time, he had so much ingrained liberality that at the time when he bestowed alms, and gave away lavishly to the poor, he emptied treasuries in the twinkling of an eye The rich and the poor, the friend and the stranger, appeared to be the same before the eye of his generosity When he sent back Sulṭān Bahādur of Sunārgām, after restoring his kingdom to him he gave him at once as a reward all that he had in his treasury He gave, every year, a hundred lakhs of tangahs to Malik Ghaznīn, and he also gave so much to the Kāzī of Ghaznīn, as would not enter any one's conception He gave to Malik Sanjar Badakhshānī eighty lakhs tangahs, to Malik 'Imāduddīn seventy lakhs, to Sayyad Azād forty lakhs, and in the same ways his gifts were never less than so many lakhs It should be noted that the tangahs here referred to are tangahs of silver, with a little alloy of copper, and were each of them equal to eight black tangahs Whenever any man of learning, or of skill, came to his court, he conferred many favours and various rewards on him Whoever came to this court, as a suppliant, from Khurāsān, or Irak, or Māwar-un-Nahr, or other parts of the world, received such large rewards, and so many favours, that he was always, from that time forward, safe from penury and want He had no equal in prescribing rules of government, and in the greatness of his wisdom He had such correct discernment and such sharp penetration, that he could, merely by a glance, discover the virtues and the vices of any man He could discover what was in the mind of any one, even before the latter began to speak His name became proverbial for eloquence of speech, and beauty of diction, for a fine literary style, and for ingenious treatment of subjects He wrote elegant prose and verse He excelled in knowledge of history, and had great skill in metaphysics, and logic S'ad the astronomer, Ubaid, the poet and Moulānā 'Ilmuddīn, who were learned in philosophy, but had no concern with the law of the prophet, were always in attendance on him, and from their companionship, and from constant exercise in ratiocinative learning, he had acquired an impression that truth was confined only in the latter As regards traditional learning, he accepted only what conformed with ratiocinative learning He

refused to accept anything which was based on tradition alone Yet he had so much faith in, and such subservience for, the Abbasi Caliph, that he considered it absolutely unlawful to begin any work of government without obtaining his permission He showed the very greatest deference and respect to his ambassadors, and used to go out on foot to meet the latter

He exerted himself so much in the conquest of new provinces, and in the administration of his dominions, that Gujrāt and Mālwah, and Deogīr and Tilang, and Kampila and Dhor Samund, and M'ābar and Tirhut, and Lakhnauti and Satgām, and Sonārgām were completely subjugated within a short period, and the revenue, and the abstracts of the receipts, and the disbursements of all these provinces arrived in Dehli, just like those of the towns in the Doāb, and the authority of the Governors and other officers was so firmly and completely established, that not one of the headmen, or other turbulent persons, in those places, could either by way of concealment or by way of obduracy keep back a *diram* out of the imperial revenues All the Rāys and the Zamindārs of the empire always stood at his door, with girded loins, to do his behests So much riches came from all parts of the empire, that in spite of the Sultān's excessive lavishness and his large gifts, there was never any deficiency in the treasury

Couplets

The ruler of the world, out of these gems and gold,
Lavished much riches, and much gems to one and all,
To those who stood to worship at his door, he gave,
To those of highest rank, also to those in need
No one could gain a path into that treasure-house
He from his generosity his guerdon got

As he had the faculty of invention highly developed, he wanted to inaugurate new rules made by himself, and to abrogate rules established by former kings with much wise thought Every day he passed a fresh order and introduced a new rule, and issued decrees addressed to the Governors and officers in the various portions of his dominions with injunctions to carry them into effect As his orders were contrary to the directions of the ancient Sulṭāns, and also to the dictates of wisdom, they excited universal hatred, and the officers were unable

to enforce them For if taking heed of the hatred of the people, they made any delay, or showed any hesitation in carrying them out, they made themselves liable to various pains and penalties, and on the other hand, if they enforced them, the common people were destroyed, and the greatest dangers found their way into the empire In a word, he prescribed certain rules, which will be mentioned in detail later on, which ruined his subjects Those who were poor were utterly ruined and decimated, and those who had some strength became refractory and rebellious As Sultān Muhammad had an evil disposition, and was stern and severe, and the slaying of human beings had become a part of his nature, he did not hesitate or delay to punish and to kill As his orders were not carried into effect, he put whole populations to the sword, and denuded extensive tracts of God's creatures Things soon came to such a pass, that many of the provinces, which had been in his possession, passed out of it, and in fact even in Dehli, which was his capital, insurrection and rebellion made their appearance The inflow of revenue from the various districts was cut off and the treasuries became empty Zainuddīn, the Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, Usuf Bughra, Abu Rājā and the son of the Kāzī of Gujrāt were the Sultān's confederates in these proceedings They exerted themselves in the seizure and destruction of God's creatures

Among his absurd projects and ill-advised proceedings was this, that he determined to increase the rents of all the land in the Doab by ten per cent, and for this purpose created some ābwābs (cesses) This became the cause of the destruction of many people, and produced contumacy in some of the rayyats, and cultivation was suspended A drought also took place at this time, and there was severe famine in Dehli, so that many houses became depopulated and whole sections of the people were ruined There was consequently great confusion in the affairs of the empire Another of his projects was this, that he intended to make Deogīr, which he considered to be in the centre of his dominions, and which he had named Doulatābād, his capital Owing to this he depopulated Dehli which had become the object of the envy of Baghdād and Damascus, and directed the inhabitants, who were accustomed to its climate, to transport themselves with their families and children to Deogīr He gave to each person the expenses

of the journey, and the price of his house, from the treasury Vast sums were spent in this way Most of the people who started, could not at all reach Deogīr, and those who did so, would not remain there The changes and vicissitudes, which found their way into the conditions of men, became the cause of great confusion in the affairs of the kingdom Another of his projects was this, that he should bring the whole of that quarter of the globe which was inhabited, under his sway As the number of his troops and his revenue were not sufficient for this, he designed to issue a copper coin, in order to accomplish his object, and ordered that copper should be coined in the mint like gold and silver Small copper coins were accordingly passed into the currency like tangahs of gold and silver, and were used in buying and selling The Hindus brought large quantities of copper to the mints, had them coined, and in this way they got together *lakhs* and *karors*, with which they bought goods and weapons These they sent to distant places, and sold there for gold and silver tangahs Every goldsmith began to coin money in his house, and bringing them to the markets, sold them there After some time, this order fell into desuetude in distant places, and in these places people obtained the copper tangahs in exchange for uncoined copper and took them to places, where the order was still in force, and exchanged them for tangahs of gold and silver Gradually the copper tangahs became so numerous that they necessarily lost all value, and became worthless like pebbles and potsherds, and the gold and silver tangahs became dearer than before Great confusion then crept into all transactions of buying and selling

Couplet

When gold as base as copper doth become,
They bring it from all sides at copper's price

When Sultān Muhammad saw that his order had become a dead letter, and he could not go on punishing the people for disregarding it, he ordered that any one who had any copper tangahs might bring them into the treasury, and get in exchange for them, the current coin of the value, i e tangahs of gold and silver He did so, in the hope that perhaps in this way the copper tangahs would rise in public estimation, and would become current in all transactions of buying

and selling The copper tangahs, which had accumulated in people's houses and had remained unused, were all brought into the treasury, and were exchanged for tangahs of gold and silver The copper remained uncurrent as before, and all the treasuries were depleted. In this way, there was very great trouble in the government of the empire

Another of his insane projects was this, that he should conquer Khurāsān and Irāk, and on this account, he made valuable gifts to people from those countries, who came to him, hoping in this way to gain their hearts He also collected an immense army, and he disbursed the pay of three lakhs and seventy thousand mounted troops from the treasury The troops received their pay for the first year, but in the second year the Sultān had no leisure to utilise them, and to conquer new territories, and consequently he did not get any money for the support of the troops, nor did any booty fall into their hands to console them The treasuries had become completely empty in the first year The troops then dispersed and the strength of the army was reduced This was another cause of confusion which found its way into his treasury and empire The last of his absurd projects was this, that he wanted to conquer the Himāchal[1] mountains, which stand between the countries of Hindustān and Chīn For this purpose he appointed renowned Amīrs, and tried commanders, and sent them with a numerous army, so that they might enter the mountains and exert themselves to conquer them When, however, the whole army entered the mountains, the Hindus inhabiting them fortified the narrow passes, and stopped the paths, by which they would have returned, and slew most of them, and the few who returned alive, were ordered by Sultān Muhammad to be executed

As Sultān Muhammad, day after day, passed impracticable orders, and caused unparalleled hardships, and the people found it impossible to bear them, the government of the country became completely disarranged and fell into the greatest confusion Rebellions

[1] Elliot (vol iii, p 241) calls the mountain, Karājal, and it is stated in a note that the printed text has Farājal and this is favoured to some extent by one MS, but the other is consistent in reading Karājal The Tabakat-i-Akbarī (both MSS and the lithographed text), had Himājal which should be changed to Himāchal

cropped up everywhere The first of these was that of Bahrām Abīh, in Multān When Sultān Muhammad heard of this revolt in Deogīr, he came to Dehli with the greatest speed, and having equipped his army there, started for Multān Bahrām came and opposed him, but in the battle which ensued, he lost his life

Couplet

If with thy benefactor, thou wilt fight,
If high's the sky thou art, thou'lt headlong fall

They brought his head to Sultān Muhammad, and the revolt subsided The Sultān wanted to punish the people of Multān for having sided with Bahrām Abīh The Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Ruknuddīn-al-'Azīz, may his tomb be holy ! interceded for the forgiveness of their offence, and the Sultān having accepted the intercession, returned triumphant and victorious to Dehli

As the men from various places, who had been living under great difficulties in Deogīr, dispersed, and Deogīr remained ruined and desolate, the Sultān remained at Dehli, and did not go to Deogīr At this time the whole of the Doāb was desolated owing to exorbitant exactions, and the high demand on account of revenue, so that many of the rayyats burnt down their granaries, and taking away their cattle, wandered away The Sultān ordered, that such of them as might be caught, should be slain, and the country plundered The Governors and other officers in the country put the people to death, and pillaged the country Those who escaped with their lives, went into the jungles and concealed themselves there

Couplet

In town and country, they one and all
Were helpless through his tyranny

At this time the Sultān went to Baran to hunt, and he ordered the whole of that district to be pillaged and the inhabitants to be put to the sword The heads of the slain were ordered to be suspended from the battlements of the citadel of Baran

Another revolt was this Fakhra, who was called Malik Fakhruddīn, rebelled in Bangālah after the death of Bahrām Khān and

killed Kadr Khān, and having looted the treasury at Lakhnauti, took possession of Lakhnauti, Sunārgām and Satgām. At this time the Sultān was engaged in plundering the country round Kanonj. He ravaged the whole country from Kanonj to Mauhamah[1] and he put immense numbers to the sword. He had not yet withheld his hand from pillage and slaughter, when news arrived that Hasan, the father of Ibrahim, the Kharītahdār (bag or purse bearer) had raised a revolt in Ma'bar, and having killed the nobles there, had taken possession of the country. The Sultān came to the capital, and seizing Ibrahīm Kharītahdār and the other relations of Sayyad Hasan put them in prison, and having equipped an army started in the direction of Ma'bar. When he arrived in Deogīr he made such exorbitant demands on the officers, nobles and peoples of the country, that most of them lost their lives on account of the difficulty of meeting them. He also made heavy assessments on the Marhatta country, and appointed strict and severe collectors. After that he sent Ahmed Ayāz to Dehli, and himself started towards Tilang. When he reached Arangal there was plague[2] raging there. Most people were suffering from it, and some of the renowned grandees died of it. Sultān Muhammad was also attacked. He left Malik Kabul, the Nāib Vazīr, in charge of the country, and returned towards Deogīr. When he arrived at the latter place, he placed himself under treatment for a few days. He conferred the title of Nasrat Khān on Shihab-i-Sultānī, placed him in charge of Bidar and made over the fiefs in that territory, which were assessed at a hundred lakhs of tangchas, to him. He made Kutlagh Khān the Governor of Deogīr and the Marhatta country. He then returned towards Dehli, although he was still ill.

He had already passed an order, that such of the people of Dehli as were now resident in Deogīr, might return to Dehli, if they wished to do so, but if they preferred Deogīr, they might continue to reside there. Most of the people came to Dehli with the Sultān, but some preferred to remain in the Marhat country. The Sultān continued at Deogīr for a few days longer, and then commenced his progress.

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[1] The name of the place is so given in the MSS. In the lith. ed., it is Hamuhamah. In Elliot (vol. iii, p. 243) it is called Dalamu.

[2] Wabā in the original. It is translated as cholera in Elliot, vol. iii, p. 243.

He found the whole of the country of Mālwah and the towns along the route to Dehli ruined and desolated by the famine The pāiks who had been stationed on the *dāk chowki* route were all dispersed, and all signs of cultivation had disappeared When the Sultān reached Dehli, he found it ruined also The famine was so severe that a seer of grain could not be bought for seventeen dirams Many people perished and cattle were also dying for want of fodder

Verse

So dread a famine did in Damascus rage,
That lovers great their dalliance sweet forgot
The skies to the earth so niggardly became,
That fields and orchard could not wet their laps

The Sultān, on seeing the ruin and desolation, turned his attention to the prosperity of the country, and the increase of the cultivation He made gifts to the people from the imperial treasury, and kept them occupied with the work of cultivation But as they were in great distress, they spent a part of what they received as advances in buying food and the remainder on their cultivation, but owing to the scarcity of rain, which happened at that time, they derived no benefit, and most of the people were punished with death, (apparently owing to their not being able to repay their advances)

At this time Shahu Afghān raised the standard of hostility, and slew Behzad, the Nāib of Multān Malik Bhura fled from Multān, and came to Dehli Sultān Muhammad then started on an expedition to Multān with a large following He had proceeded only one stage, when his mother, Malkah-i-Jahān, on whom depended the maintenance and arrangement of the entire household of Sultān Tughlak Shāh, was united to the Divine mercy The Sultān was overcome with grief and sorrow, and ordered that food and alms should be distributed in the city for the benefit of her soul, but he hastened towards Multān When he arrived in the vicinity of that city, Shahu sent him a petition, and expressed his shame and repentance, and leaving Multān went to Afghanistān The Sultān returned from the way to Dehli There the famine was raging with such ferocity, that man was devouring man The Sultān again made great exertions to extend the cultivation, and granted money from the treasury

He ordered that cultivators should dig wells, and should devote themselves to the cultivation of their fields, but owing to their distress, and want of preparation, and also on account of the scarcity of rain, they were accused of neglect and default and were punished. At this time bands of Mundāhirs, and Chauhāns and Bahtians and Minahs, who lived in the territories of Sunām and Samāna, began to act turbulently, and building houses for themselves in the vast jungles, collected water and grain there, and deeming these to be strongholds for themselves, assembled there, and acting in a violent and refractory manner, withheld payment of revenue, and began to commit highway robberies. The Sulṭān marched troops to destroy them, and having demolished their fortifications, which in their language were called Mandals, dispersed them. He brought their leaders with him, assigned them places in the capital to live in, and included them in the ranks of the nobility. In this way he suppressed the disturbances which they had created in that country.

At this time Kanya Paik, who was in the vicinity of Arangal, rose in rebellion in concert with the zamindārs of that country, and Malik Makbūl the nāib fled and came to Dehli. Arangal came into the possession of the Hindus, and ceased to be included in the imperial dominions. At the same time, a relation of the Rājāh of Kampilah, whom Sultān Muhammad had sent to that place, apostatized from Islām, and revolted, and Kampilah also passed out of the Sultān's dominions. In this way, of the distant territories, no portion, except Gujrāt and Deogīr, remained in the Sulṭān's possession. Dangers and rebellions occurred on every side. The Sulṭān became still more enraged at this, and ordered the people to be punished. The latter, hearing of the Sulṭān's severity, felt greater hatred toward him and this gave rise to more disturbances and insurrections.

The Sultān, however, went on devoting his attention to the extension of cultivation, and to foster the prosperity of the country, but owing to the scarcity of the rains, his endeavours were of little avail. At last he found it necessary to order that the gates of the city should be opened and the people who had been kept there, with force and violence, should be allowed to go where they pleased. Many of these people migrated, with their families and dependents,

towards Bangālah and the neighbouring country The Sulṭān also left the capital, and passing Patiālī and Kampilah took up his residence on the bank of the Ganges He ordered that people should erect huts there and live in them The place was called Sargdwārī Grain was brought there from Karah and Audh and was cheaper there than in the capital 'Ainul-Mulk who held the fiefs of Audh and Zafarābād, and resided there with his brothers, regularly sent to Sargdwārī, grain and piece-goods, and everything else that was necessary During the time that the Sultān remained at Sargdwārī, he sent for the latter's service eighty lakhs of tangahs worth of cash and grain and various kinds of things The Sultān had great confidence in him, and implicit trust in his capacity and good management

Four insurrections took place during the time that the Sultān was at Sargdwārī, but were quickly put down The first was the disturbance created by Nizām Mābīn in Karah This Nizām Mābīn was a contemptible fellow, a man who talked and acted foolishly, and was of no position and status, who revolted because he could not fulfil the terms under which he held his fief, and who assuming the royal canopy, took the title of Sultān 'Alauddīn

Before Sulṭān Muhammad could undertake his destruction, 'Ain-ul-Mulk with his brothers attacked and seized him and after having him flayed sent his head to the Sultān The fiefs of the rebel were allotted to Shaikh-Zādah Bastāmi, in whose house the sister of the Sulṭān was, and the task of the punishment of the men who had joined him in creating the disturbance was entrusted to the Shaikh-Zādah, and he suppressed the insurrection The next rebellion was that of Shihāb-i-Sultānī who bore the title of Nasrat Khān He had accepted the fief of the entire territory of Bidar on condition of paying a hundred lakhs of tangahs, but being unable to pay it, revolted and betook himself to the fort of Bidar Kutlak Khān was deputed from Deogīr against him, and other noblemen were sent from Dehli to co-operate with him Kutlak Khān besieged the fort of Bidar and having compelled Shihāb-i-Sultānī to capitulate on certain terms, sent him to attend on the Sultān This rebellion was also thus put down A month had not, however, yet elapsed after this, when 'Ali Shāh, the nephew (sister's son) of Zafar Khān, who was an Amīr Sadah and had been sent from Deogīr to Gulbargah to collect the

revenue, finding that place denuded of officers treacherously slew Baharan, the ruler of Gulbargah, and having plundered his property, went to Bidar, and having slain the deputy of that place also, took possession of it Sulṭān Muhammad sent Ḳutluk Khān to destroy him, and some of the nobles of Dehli and the troops of Dhār were ordered to accompany him 'Ali Shāh advanced to meet Kutluk Khān, and giving battle was routed He then took shelter in the citadel of Bidar and Kutluk Khān offered him terms, and he and his brothers having come out of the fort were sent to the Sulṭān in Sargdwārī The Sultān sent 'Ali Shāh and his brothers to Ghaznīn, and when they came back from Ghaznīn he had both brothers executed

After this, Sulṭān Muhammad wanted to place the affairs of Deogīr under the charge of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and he sent for Kutluk Khān from that place Before this a number of writers, who had been accused of embezzlement in Dehli, and had been ordered to be punished, had left Dehli under the pretext of dearness of grain there, and had gone to Audh, and Zafarābād, and thrown themselves under the protection of 'Ain-ul-Mulk and his brothers This had excited the anger of the Sultān, but he had considered it inexpedient to show it 'Ain-ul-Mulk had, however, become cognizant of the change in the Sulṭān's disposition towards him, and had taken alarm At the time when the affairs of Deogīr were placed under his charge, and he was ordered to go there with his retainers and dependants, he considered this to be the outcome of the cunning and treachery of the Sulṭān, and endeavoured therefore to safeguard his own interests In compliance with the orders of the Sulṭān, he summoned his brothers and troops from Audh and Zafarābād, and while they were on the march, he suddenly left Sargdwārī one night and joined them He then raised the standard of hostility and his brothers having arrived in the neighbourhood of Sargdwārī, at the head of four thousand horsemen, they drove the elephants and the horses belonging to the Sultān which were grazing in the fields in that vicinity before them, and took them away to their own camping ground The Sultān in great perplexity summoned the armies of Sāmānah and Amrohā and Baran and Kol Ahmad Ayāz also arrived at the head of the Dehli army The Sulṭān having then arranged all his troops advanced

towards Kanouj, and encamped in the vicinity of that city. 'Ain-ul-Mulk and his troops also encamped in front of him

Verse

The roars of the raging elephants, so fierce,
Broke the knots in the throats of the lions bold [1]
Father with son was in dreadful deadly feud,
'Twas all mere form, all love from the earth was fled

Then crossing the Ganges at the ferry ot Bāngar Mau they engaged in battle and were defeated 'Ain-ul-Mulk was taken prisoner, and his two brothers were killed A number of his soldiers fell in the battle, and those who escaped the sword, were drowned in the Ganges The few that succeeded in crossing the river, fell into the hands of the Hindus, in the territories held by them, and were put to death When they brought 'Ain-ul-Mulk to the Sulṭān, the latter declared that he was not to blame in any way It was his men who had led him astray He ordered 'Ain-ul-Mulk to be brought before him, encouraged him and honoured him with a robe of honour He also entrusted him with the discharge of certain high affairs and pardoned his sons, and all his dependants and adherents

The Sultān went from Bāngar Mau to Bahraich, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sipah Sālār Mas'ud Shahīd, who was a relative of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, and bestowed large sums in alms to the attendants of the tomb of that personage, and the Fakīrs who were resident there He sent Ahmad Ayāz to Bahraich, that he might station himself on the road to Lakhnauti, and might prevent the fugitives from 'Ain-ul-Mulk's army escaping to that place, and that he might also send the others who had left Dehli, on account of the famine, or through fear of the Sulṭān's vengeance, and had settled in Audh and Zafarābād, to their native districts He then came from Bahraich to Dehli Ahmad Ayāz also joined him there, after performing the duties entrusted to him

As an idea had taken root in the Sultān's mind, that it was improper to rule his empire without the sanction of the Abbāsī-Caliph,

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[1] It is difficult to imagine the curious phenomenon of natural history described in the first two lines The meaning of the last line is also obscure, one MS has بحر instead of مهر which would mean perhaps that the sea was raging tumultuously

and in fact that such a thing was entirely against the law of the prophet, he made enquiries about the existence of any Caliphs of that line He was, at last, informed that a Caliph of that line was seated on the seat of the Caliph in Egypt Acting under the advice of Kamāl-ul-Mulk, he rendered homage to that Caliph in his absence, and for two or three months sent messages and representations to him and explained his feelings of reverence and homage He also directed that the Friday prayers and those of the 'Id should be discontinued in the city, and likewise directed, that the name of the Caliph should be impressed on the coin in place of his own name At last in the year 741 A H Hājī Sa'īd Sarsari came from Egypt to Dehli and brought to the Sultān a *farmān* sanctioning his rule, and promising him support, and a robe of honour The Sultān went forward to meet and welcome him, attended by all the nobles, and learned men, and Shaikhs When the two parties approached each other, the Sulṭān dismounted, placed the Caliph's *farmān* on his head, imprinted kisses on the feet of Sa'īd Sarsari, showed great respect for him, and accompanied the procession on foot He directed that domes should be erected in the city, and heaped gold on the Caliph's *farmān* He also gave orders for the performance of Friday prayers, and those of the 'Ids which had been discontinued The *Khutbah* was ordered to be read in the Caliph's name, and he ordered that the names of the kings who had had no authority from the Abbāsī Caliphs should be removed from it He ordered the name of the Caliph to be inserted in gold-embroidered garments and in the architraves of edifices After the arrival of Hājī Sa'īd Sarsari the Sulṭān ordered that a memorial should be written, and he sent it with Hājī Rajab Bark'aī with such a precious jewel, that there was not another like it in the treasury, with other gifts and presents, for the Caliph's acceptance He included in the tribute, Malik Kabīr, the chief of his guards, who was one of his slaves, and had no equal in the beauty of his morals, the soundness of his wisdom, as well as in piety, bravery and loyalty, and than whom he had no more favoured servant, and made him part and parcel of the Caliph's property He got a memorial executed by Malik Kabīr, containing a stipulation that he would serve the Caliph, and sent it with Hājī Rajab Bark'aī to the Caliph He also gave him the title of Malik Kabīr Khalīfī After two years Hājī Rajab Bark'aī came a second

time to the Sulṭān accompanied by the Shaikh-ush-Shaiūkh of Egypt and bringing a *farmān* by which the Sultān was declared to be the deputy of the Caliph, a special robe of honour, and the standard of the Amīr-ul-Mauminin The Sulṭān went out to welcome them, with all his nobles and great officers, and as he got near them, he dismounted, and placing the *farmān* on his head walked from the gate to the inside of the Kiosk He directed the nobles to make obeisance to the *farmān*, and always kept the Kurān, the Hadis and this *farmān* before him He received the homage of the people in the name of the Caliph, and every order and *farmān* which he issued, he declared to be issued on the authority of the latter, and he said that the commander of the faithful had ordered this or directed that After some time he granted permission to the Shaikh-ush-Shaiūkh of Egypt to depart, after conferring many rewards and honours on him He also sent much wealth and many precious gems for the acceptance of the Caliph by the hand of the Shaikh-ush-Shaiūkh, who went away by sea On two occasions after this, the Caliph's *farmāns* came to the Sultān at Broach and Kambayāt, and on both occasions he received them with great reverence and honour, and followed the practice of making gifts and offerings When the Mukhdūm-Zādah of Baghdād came to the Sultān, the latter went as far as the town of Pālam, which is five karohs from Dehli, to meet him, and he conferred on him as a mark of his favour, one lakh of tangahs, one parganah, and the Kiosk of Sirī, and all the revenue of the land appertaining to it, and other reservoirs and gardens Whenever the Mukhdūm-Zādah came to wait on the Sultān, the latter came down from the throne, and advanced a few steps to meet him, and made him sit down on the throne, beside himself and sat in his presence with great respect and decorum

After the Sulṭān had obtained the *farmān* of the Abbāsī Caliph, and had thus, in his opinion, acquired a good title to the throne, he went on with the work of the government with great firmness and eclat After taking up his residence in Sargdwārī he again devoted himself to the task of increasing the wealth of the country and of extending the cultivation He framed some new rules in connection with this Every expedient which occurred to him, in connection with the extension of cultivation, he called an *aslub* (regulation)

He established a separate department which he called the Amīr Koi department None of the regulations was, however, of any avail, or resulted in any improvements Among other things he ordered that the whole country should be divided into circles of thirty karohs, and that in these circles, all the uncultivated lands should be brought under cultivation, and where they were already under cultivation, more valuable crops should be grown than before About a hundred shikdārs or superintendents were appointed to see this carried out Many people who were hungry and in great distress, and many others who were greedy and avaricious did not think what the ultimate effect of their acts would be, but went and took the land and also obtained large sums in the shape of advances and rewards. They spent these sums in supplying their immediate needs, and then waited in expectation of the punishment which they knew would follow In the course of two years eighty and odd lakhs of tangahs were disbursed from the treasury for this purpose If the Sulṭān had returned alive from the expedition to Thathah he would not have left a single superintendent, or other officer employed in this work, alive

Another measure which the Sultān undertook, while he was at Sargdwārī, was the dismissal of old officers and the appointment of new ones As it was reported to the Sultān, that the provinces of Marhat and Deogir had been ruined and desolated by the embezzlements and the oppressions committed by the men employed by Kutluk Khān, and their revenue had been reduced to a tenth of what it had been before, the Sultān [newly] assessed the revenue of Marhat at seven karors, and dividing it into four parts, appointed Surur-ul-Mulk, Makhlis-ul-Mulk, Yusuf Baghrā and Azīz Khamār as the four divisional Governors He conferred the appointment of the Vazir of Deogir on 'Imad-ul-Mulk, Sarir Sultānī, and that of the Nāib Vazir on Dhārāohar,[1] who had been in charge of the agricultural advances, and the carrying out of the agricultural regulations He summoned Kutluk Khān with his dependants and adherents from Deogīr The people of the place were, however, pained and distressed at his departure, inasmuch as the severity of the Sulṭān had overwhelmed

[1] This name is given as Anbaohar in the lith ed, but in the MSS it is written as Dhārāohar

all the country, but the people of Deogīr had remained safe, under the shadow of Kutluk Khān's protection, and were happy and contented with the kind treatment he accorded them. Maulānā Nizāmuddīn, who was at Broach, was ordered to go to Deogīr, and to take charge of the administration, and the management of affairs there, pending the arrival of some other officers. The Sultān directed that the revenue which had been collected by Kutluk Khān, and had been amassed there, as it could not be brought to Dehli, on account of the insecurity of the road, should be kept at Dhārāgarh, which was another name for the citadel of Daulatābād, and was a strong fort. After Kutluk Khān had arrived at Dehli, the Sultān sent 'Aziz Khamār, who belonged to the meaner classes, to govern Malwah. At the time of sending him off, the Sultān gave certain directions to him. Among these, he said, 'I hear that every disturbance, which occurs in any province is caused by its Amīr Sadahs, who support all the turbulent people, and in this way, become the source of all insurrections. If you find any of them to be evil disposed, and to be inclined to create disturbances, you should at once have them executed.' When 'Aziz Khamār reached the territory of Dhār, and took up the administration of affairs there, he caused eighty and odd of the leaders of the Amīr Sadahs of the province to be seized and beheaded, without proper enquiry and deliberation. He did not consider that the Amīr Sadahs of Gujrāt, the Dakīn, and other provinces would become frightened and cause various disturbances. At that period the Yuzbāshis were called Amīr Sadahs. When 'Aziz Khamār wrote an account of his proceedings and submitted it to the Sultān, the latter was delighted and sent a *farmān* expressive of his appreciation, and a special robe of honour. He also directed the nobles that they should write laudatory epistles to him, and send him horses and robes of honour. The Sultān thus honoured this 'Aziz Khamār and a few others, who belonged to the lowest classes, and gave them rank higher than that of most of the nobles. For instance, he entrusted the provinces of Gujrāt, Multān and Badāūn to [1]Bahnā, the son of a musician. The office of Vazīr was

[1] The name is given in the lith. ed. as in the text. In the three MSS. it is written as Bakhshāi, Subhānī and Eknāi.

entrusted to the son of a gardener, who was one of the lowest of men. Firoz, the barber and Makka, the tobacco seller, sons of a gardener, and Shaikh Babu, and Manik, the son of a Julāha were honoured by being allowed proximity to the Sultān's person He also bestowed high appointments and large fiefs on them He entrusted the office of the Vazīr of Gujrāt to a slave of Ahmad Ayāz, named Makbil, who both in person and in mind was the most despicable of men The Sultān vainly imagined that if he raised men, who were low and wretched, they knowing that they had been raised from the dust, and had been cherished by him, would not stray from the path of loyalty, but he did not consider that the base could never change their nature, and the proper performance of the work of an empire cannot be expected from them He was oblivious of the truthful saying

Couplets

To raise the heads of the wicked and the base,
To hope for good from such as these,
Is to lose the clue to fortune high,
Is but to cherish a serpent in the breast

When the news of 'Aziz Khamār's abominable deed reached the ears of the Amīrs Sadah of the different provinces, they collected their forces and waited for a fit time and opportunity

At this time Malik Makbil the Nāib of Gujrāt was coming to Dehli by way of Deoli and Baroda with the revenue which he had collected, and the horses belonging to the royal stables and other valuables The Amīr Sadahs of Gujarāt pillaged everything, and also the goods and merchandise of merchants who were travelling under his escort Malik Makbil lost everything, and went alone to Nahrwāla The Sultān was incensed on hearing this and determined to march in person to Gujrāt Although Kutluk Khān pointed out to him that the rebellion of the Amīr Sadahs of Deoli and Baroda was not of such magnitude as to require the presence of the Sultān to quell it, his representation had no effect Ziā-i-Barni, the author of the Tārikh-i-Firozshāhi, says, that Kutluk Khān sent the message through him, and represented that by the grace of the Sultān, he had so many retainers and troops, that he could undertake the suppression of this insurrection, and that the Sultān's going in

person might be the cause of other disturbances and calamities, in other parts of the country

Couplet

The Sultān's steps, if like the sun, it moves about
Wherever it comes, it destruction brings

The Sulṭān did not acquiesce in his prayer, and ordered that an army should be equipped He left Malik Firoz, his cousin, as the Regent at Dehli, during his absence, in conjunction with Malik Kabīr Ahmad Āyāz He then started from Dehli, and encamping at Sultānpur, fifteen karos from the capital, began to collect troops A representation from 'Azīz Khamār reached him there He submitted that as the Amīr Sadahs of Deoli and Baroda had created the disturbance, and he was close to them, he had equipped the troops at Dhāi and was starting against them The Sultān felt some anxiety about him, and said, " 'Azīz Khamāi is ignorant of the methods of warfare It is quite likely that he will lose his life " Immediately after this, news came that when 'Azīz Khamāi came in front of the insurgents, he lost all power over his limbs, and fell off from his horse, and the rebels slew him with ignominy The Sultān then started from Sultānpur Ziā-i-Barni has narrated that at the time of starting for Gujrāt, the Sultān told him that although people had said that insurrections had been caused by his severity, he had determined not to change his methods for anything that they might say, and for any frequency in insurrections He then said, Ziā Barnī proceeds, "You have read history and you can tell me under what circumstances kings should inflict severe punishment " In reply I humbly submitted that it was mentioned in the Tarikh Kibra that there were seven classes of offences which required severe sentences, viz, (1) perversion from the true faith, (2) deliberate murder, (3) adultery by a man whose wife was living, with a woman whose husband was also living, (4) treason against the sovereign, (5) heading an insurrection and attempting to cause a revolution, (6) siding with the enemies of the sovereign and helping and aiding them by supplying intelligence and weapons, and (7) disobeying the orders of the sovereign and treating them with contumely After this the Sultān enquired, in which of these cases is

the punishment authorized by *hadis* (the traditionary sayings of the prophet) I respectfully submitted that of the seven classes of offence three are mentioned in *hadis*, viz , perversion from the true faith, murder of a Musulmān, and adultery, and the other four have been included by kings for the proper government of their realms The Sultān said, "In early times men were truthful in words and deeds; but now owing to the corruption of morals, I find severe punishments indispensable, in order to keep the people in the right path, and to prevent their becoming turbulent and rebellious, so that I may remain safe in their midst Besides I have no wise minister, one who could administer the country wisely and well, so that there may be no necessity for bloodshed "

When the Sultān reached Mount Abhu, which is on the boundary of Gujrāt, he nominated one of the Amīrs to take the field against the insurgents. The latter fought, and being defeated, fled in the direction of Deogīr The Sultān came from Abhu to Baroch, and sent Malik Kabul, the Nāib Vazīr of the empire, with the Amīr Sadahs, in pursuit of the insurgents Malik Kabul overtook them on the bank of the Narbadā and slew most of them, and seized their children and dependants Those who escaped with their lives, went to Mandeo, ruler of Mount Salīr Mulīr The latter plundered and ravaged them, and the disturbances then completely subsided Malik Kabul remained under the Sultān's orders, for a few days, on the banks of the Narbadā and had most of the Amīr Sadahs of Baroch put to death The few that escaped with their lives, became wanderers on the face of the earth The Sultān remained for a few days at Baroch, and after much enquiry, recovered the revenues of Baroch and Kambāyat and the entire province of Gujrāt which had been pillaged, and which could still be found in the possession of the plunderers, and placed it in the treasury He also ordered those, who were in any way connected with the insurrection, to be executed He deputed Zin Bandah who bore the title of Majduddīn, and the son of Rukn Tānessari, who were two of the most wicked men of the age, to Deogīr, so that they might seize the insurgents of the place, and have them executed The entire population of the country who had heard of the severity of the Sultān, were panic struck, and in the greatest perplexity The Sultān sent other Amīrs, after those, to Deogīr, and sent an order to

Maulānā Nizām, the brother of Kutluk Khān, that he should collect fifteen hundred horsemen, and send these with the notable Amīr Sadahs of the country with these two Amirs to the court Maulānā Nīzām in compliance with the order sent fifteen hundred horsemen with the Amīr Sadahs of the neighbourhood, to the Sulṭān At the first halting place, however, the Amīr Sadahs and the horsemen, owing to the fear and suspicion which they felt, combined together, killed the two Amīrs and imprisoned Maulānā Nizām and beheaded the officers who were stationed at Deogīr by order of the Sulṭān They cut the son of Ruknuddīn Tānessarī to pieces, took possession of the treasure which was in Dhārāgarh, and placed Malik Makh, brother of Malik Mal Afghān on the throne They divided the treasure among the horsemen and foot soldiers, and apportioned the country of Marhat among the insurgents The officers and adherents of Malik Makh Afghān and the Amīr Sadahs of Deoli and Baroda, all collected together at Deogīr, and the people of the country united with them When the Sulṭān heard this, he came from Baroch to Deogīr by continuous marches The insurgents met him were defeated, and most of them were slain Makh Afghān, who was the chief of the insurgents, fortified himself with his adherents and officers in the citadel of Dhārāgarh Hasan Kānku and the brothers of Makh Afghān fled in the direction of Gulbargh, and the people of Deogīr, high and low, were plundered Sultān Muhammad sent 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sartez Sultānī, with other nobles, to Gulbargah, so that they might bring that province under subjection, and put any of the fugitive insurgents, whom they might seize, to the sword He sent many of the residents of Deogīr with Nauroz Kārkun towards Dehli A gazette announcing the victory was sent, and was read from the pulpits in Dehli, where they beat the drum of joy The Sultān then occupied himself with the ordering of the affairs of Deogīr and Marhat, but he had not finished attending to them, when news came that Taghi, who was a treacherous slave of his, but was noted for his daring and bravery, had placed the mark of treason on his forehead and had raised the standard of hostility, that he had got the Amīr Sadhas and the Zamindars of Gujrāt to join him, and, coming into Nahrwālā, had put Malik Muzaffar, the deputy of Sheikh Muizzuddīn, to death, had imprisoned Sheikh Muizzuddīn himself and other officers, and

had then marched from Nahrwālā to Kambāyat with a large force; he ravaged that city, and had then gone to Baroch, and was at the time besieging the fort there When the Sultān heard this, he left Khudāwand-Zādah Kawām-ud-dīn Malik Jowhar, Sheikh Burhān Balārāmi and Zahīr-ul-jaiūsh, with a large body of troops, in Deogīr, and started for Baroch with great speed He took with him all the residents of Deogīr that were still left there, and when he reached Baroch, he encamped on the bank of the Narbadā Taghī then abandoned Baroch and went to Kambāyat The Sultān despatched Malik Yusuf Baghrā, with a large force, in pursuit of him When Malik Yusuf reached Kambāyat, Taghī confronted him, and gave battle, and Malik Yusuf Baghrā and some of the notables who were with him were killed and the remnant of his army fled, and came to the Sultān at Baroch Taghī ordered Sheikh Muizuddīn and the other officers whom he had imprisoned to be put to death The Sultān immediately crossed the Narbadā, and started towards Kambāyat Taghī fled from Kambāyat to Āsāwal, and when the Sultān approached that place, he fled to Nahrwālā The Sultān halted for a month at Āsāwal owing to the continuous rain At this time, intelligence came that Taghī was marching from Nahrwālā, in the direction of Āsāwal, and had halted at Garī The Sultān started immediately from Āsāwal in the midst of the rains, and came to Garī When Taghī and his soldiers saw that the Sultān's army had arrived, they made themselves drunk, and, in the manner of men who had determined to sell their lives dear, attacked the centre of the Sultān's army Their progress was however barred by the elephants, and they could not do anything, and were forced to turn back and to take refuge among some trees which grew in the neighbourhood in large numbers; and from there they fled to Nahrwālā Five hundred of the insurgents, who were at the rear of Taghī's army, were captured alive and were put to the sword

Sultān Muhammad then sent the son of Malik Yusuf Baghrā Khān, in the direction of Nahrwālā, in pursuit of Taghī When night came on, the son of Malik Yusuf halted on the way Taghī brought his family and dependants, and those of the other rebels, from Nahrwālā, and crossing the Rann, went to Kant in Kach, and after halting there for some days fled to Thatha The Sultān arrived at Nahrwālā three days later, and halted on the bank of the reservoir

of Sabhalsang, and occupied himself with the affairs of the province of Gujrāt. The headmen and Rāys of the province came to him from all sides, brought him tribute and were rewarded with robes of honour and other favours The disorder and disturbances which had distracted the province were all removed by the Sultān's care and exertions Some of the notables of Taghī's army had separated from him, and had taken refuge with Rana Mandal Sirī The latter had them executed and sent their heads to the Sultān

The Sultān was still engaged with the management of the affairs of Gujrāt, when intelligence came that Hasan Kānku and other insurgents, who had before this been defeated at Deogīr and had dispersed, had again collected together, and had killed Imad-ul-Mulk Sartez Sultānī and had routed and dispersed the army under his command, and that Khudāwand-Zādah Kawāmuddīn, Malik Jauhar and Zahīr-uj-jaiūsh had gone away from Deogīr in the direction of Dhārāgarh, and Hasan Kānku had come to Deogīr, had assumed the royal canopy, and had taken the title of Sultān 'Alauddīn The troops that were entrusted with the defence of the fort of Dhārāgarh, had also joined him, and thus a great rebellion was afoot When the Sultān heard this, he was bewildered, and overwhelmed with sorrow After much consideration, he came to the conclusion that all these disturbances were due to the severity and the frequency of the punishments inflicted by him, and during the few days he remained at Nahrwālā, he, in a manner, withheld his hand from further punishments

Verse

If thou art weak, thy foes grow bold,
If too severe, they turn to bay,
Be like a surgeon, soft and hard by turns,
He cuts, and with an unguent soothes

At this time the Sultān summoned Malik Firoz, Ahmad Āyāz, Malik Ghaznīn, Amīr Katlēā, and Sadr Jahan from Dehli, with their troops, that he might send them against Hasan Kānku, and they arrived with a large body of troops, but as intelligence came in rapid succession, that an immense host had collected round Hasan Kānku, the Sultān delayed sending them, and resolved, that after freeing his

mind from all anxiety, by settling the affairs of Gujrāt, and the capture of Karnāl, which is commonly known as Junāgarh, he would himself proceed to crush Hasan Kānku. For this reason, he remained two years in Gujrāt. In the first year, he directed his attention to the affairs of the province, and to the equipment of his army. During the second year, he occupied himself with the capture of the fort of Junāgarh. After he had taken possession of the citadel of Karnāl, with its dependencies, the headmen and Rāys of the neighbourhood all submitted to him and rendered him homage. Kankār, the ruler of the territory of Kach, also came and tendered his submission.

Ziā-i-Barnī says, that at this time the Sultān told him, "My dominions have fallen a prey to various diseases. If I attend to one of these, another makes head. As thou hast read and studied historical works does any remedy suggest itself to your mind for this state of things?" He submitted humbly, "It has come to my notice that when the people of a country felt a hatred for their ruler, and many disturbances occurred in consequence, such a ruler abdicated in favour of a son or a brother, who was fitted to rule the country, and himself retired into obscurity. Others have considered the removal of the officers who were the cause of the unpopularity the proper remedy for such a disease." The Sultān said, in reply, "I have no son or other heir who can take my place, and I am determined not to relax the severity of my punishments. Let whatever is to happen, happen."

At Gondal, which is fifteen karohs from Karnāl, the Sultān fell ill. Before his arrival there he had, owing to the death of Malik Kabīr at Dehli, sent Ahmad Āyāz and Malik Kabul, the deputy Vazīr of the empire, to the capital and had summoned the Khudāwand-Zādah and the Makhdum-Zādah and other notables from Dehli to Gondal. When the Sultān reached Gondal, all these persons arrived there, with the ladies of the *haram*, and a large retinue. An immense host was thus assembled round the Sulṭān. The army had in the meantime been well equipped, and the Sulṭān had recovered from his illness. After this, he sent for boats from Dipālpur, Multān, Uchch and Siwistān and directed that they should be all collected at Thatha, and started from Gondal, and arriving on the bank of the river, crossed it with his army and elephants and encamped

on the bank At this time, Altun Bahādur, who had come with five thousand Mughals from Amīr Kazghan, joined the Sulṭān. The latter showed great favour and kindness to him and his soldiers He then started towards Thatha in order to destroy the tribe known as the Somra, and the wretch Taghī who had taken shelter with them When he arrived at a distance of thirty karohs from Thatha, it was the tenth day of the Muharram He fasted and at the time of breaking it ate some fish There was a relapse of the fever, from which he had been suffering In spite of this, he embarked in a boat and proceeded to a place fourteen karohs from Thatha, but owing to the severity of the illness he found it necessary to stop there Day after day, the disease increased till the 21st Muharram 752 A H, when he died He had reigned for a period of twenty eight years Ziā-i-Barnī wrote the following elegy on him, in his history —

Verse

With poison is the draught of the world embittered !
All fruit is poison to Adam's children, here !
Oh friend of nothingness ! do thou desist,
Talk less of this wretched and worthless world,
The dawn of judgment grows ! and we asleep !
Wake up the slumberers of the earth !
What beautiful carpet, the morning breeze did spread !
Alas ! roll that bed of joyance away !
The day of destruction's come ! arise and break
The arch, and cleave the palace roof asunder !
Shah Muhammad in the dust of death doth sleep,
Encase thyself in the azure robe of grief !
The cry of grief sounds loud in all the world,
Tear, tear, this bright and shining garment, tear !

SULTĀN FIROZ SHĀH

He was the nephew (brother's son) of Sulṭān Ghiāsuddīn Tughlak Shāh When the illness of Sulṭān Muhammad Tughlak Shāh was prolonged, in the camp at Siwistān, and the time of his death drew near, Malik Firoz, the Nāib or deputy, who was the son of his uncle, and in respect of whose right to succeed him the Sulṭān felt a righteous solicitude, fulfilled the requirements of gratitude and love in the

matter of the latter's medical treatment Under these circumstances the Sulṭān's favour and kindness towards him was increased a thousand fold When the Sulṭān saw that his end was near, he directed that Malik Firoz should succeed him He said

Couplet

Oh flourish thou, and prosper in thy rule !
For ah ! my head vacates the cushion now !

When the Sulṭān died, in the neighbourhood of Thatha, indescribable confusion overtook the army Malik Firoz Barbak considered it advisable that he should, by any pretext which he could think of, separate the three (five ?) thousand Mughal horsemen, whom Amīr Kazghan had sent to assist Sultān Muhammad, from the main army, so that it might be saved from their depredations He therefore, conferred rewards and robes and garments on the chiefs of that body as well as on the other horsemen, and gave them permission to return to their own country, and also directed that they should at once separate themselves from the rest of the army and encamp at a distance from it In these circumstances, two days after Sultān Muhammad's death, when the army was in great confusion and distress from the fear of the ravages and the attacks of the Mughals, Nauroz Gurgīn, the son-in-law of Barmah Shīrīn, who had been brought up by Sultān Muhammad, ungratefully joined the Mughals, and incited the latter to stretch their hands to ravage, and to begin to seize and plunder the troops, just at the time when they would begin their march, and when there would be great disorder and confusion in the camp Much property was plundered and many of the women and children were seized that day by the Mughals and the scum of the people of Thatha The Soldiers spent that day in unspeakable anxiety and fear The next day the troops were arranged with great care, and began their march This day also, the Mughals and the marauders of Thatha went on ravaging and plundering At last the army reached the bank of the river, and encamped there They were like sheep without a shepherd and were being slaughtered and destroyed Then, Makhdum-Zādah Abbasi, and Sheikh Nasīruddīn Muhammad Audhi, who was celebrated as the Lamp of Dehli, and

was the successor of Sheikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā, and the learned men, and Shaikhs, and Maliks, and Amīrs assembled together, and begged Malik Firoz Barbak that he should ascend the throne

Verse

The soldiers all did kiss the ground,
Where the Sulṭān set his auspicious foot,
Where he did step, they placed their heads,
With his commands, they crowned themselves,
If he to fire and water did then place convert,
Still their hearts from him did not turn

Malik Firoz expressed a desire for travelling in the Hejaz, and of performing a pilgrimage to the holy places, and begged to be excused, but at last at the entreaty of high and low, he ascended the imperial throne, on the 24th Muharram, in the year 752 A H, and ransomed so many thousand people who were in the clutches of the marauders On the third day after that, they mounted with such discipline and in such order, that whenever the Mughals and the marauders of Thatha attempted to attack them from any side, they were themselves seized and became prisoners, and in this way the trouble which they had up to that time caused, ceased

Verse

When's royal canopy like the phœnix spread its wing!
No owl could have the hardihood to play the hawk
So peaceful did the breath of his greatness make the world,
That e'en the things at war did hold communion sweet

The people, both gentle and simple, received many royal benefactions in the first year after the accession of Sultān Firoz Shāh After a time, they arrived, by continuous marches, at Siwistān, and there the Amīrs, Maliks, Shaikhs and the commanders of the army were rewarded with gifts of horses, robes of honour, swords, and girdles The people of Siwistān were also honoured with rewards and gratuities From that place the army started for Hindustān, and in every city and village to which they came the hearts of the people were gladdened with presents and pensions

Couplets

With care, he went into the depths of things,
With gifts, he supplied the wants of all,
His treasures made all men so rich,
His troops, with labour, bore his gems

At this very time, news came of the hostility of Malik Ahmad Āyāz, who bore the title of Khawājah-i-Jahān, and was one of the trusted servants of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh, who had left him to act as Regent at Dehli, during his absence It appeared that he had placed a boy of unknown birth on the throne, describing him as a son of Sultan Muhammad Shāh, and had given him the designation of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad Shāh, and had constituted himself Regent with absolute power The Sultān (Firoz Shāh) attributed these abominable proceedings of his to his foolishness and stupidity, issued a decree granting him full pardon, and sent him a message containing much wise advice Malik Saifuddīn, the superintendent of the elephants, carried this message to Malik Ahmad Ayāz, but he paid no heed to it, and sent a message through a deputation composed of Sayyad Jalāl, Malik Dhilān, Maulānā Najmuddīn Rāzī and Dāūd, his own Maulānā-Zādah, to the effect that the empire was still in the possession of Sultān Muhammad, that he should accept the office of deputy and devote himself with energy to the performance of the affairs of the empire, and that any nobles whom he might select might be joined with him as his colleagues. On the arrival of the deputation, the Sultān convened an assembly, and calling together Shaikh Nasiruddīn Muhammad Audhi, Maulānā Kamāluddīn Audhi, Maulānā Kamāluddīn Sāmānah, Maulānā Shamsuddīn Bākharzī, and other great officers and learned men, placed the whole matter before them, and enquired what their opinion in the matter was, and what, in accordance with the law of the prophet, was his duty Malik Kamāluddīn said, whoever had undertaken the duties of the empire should go on with them The Sulṭān kept the emissaries sent by Ahmad Ayāz under guard, and sent him an epistle containing good advice through Dāūd, his Maulānā-Zādah, who, as already mentioned, was one of the emissaries When Dāūd arrived, Ahmad Ayāz felt that he would not be able to accomplish his designs, as he saw that

most of the nobles, and specially Malik Naththu the chamberlain, and Malik Hasan Multānī and others like them, who had at first made common cause with him, and taken large sums of money, had started from Dehli to welcome the Sultān, and to join his army.

At this time, news came that Taghī, who had revolted and had gone away to Gujrāt, had been killed there, and on all sides signs of the good fortune of Sultān Firoz Shāh began to appear Ahmad Ayāz in great distress and anxiety determined to make his submission, and sent Ashraf-ul-Mulk and Malik Khaljīn and Malik Kabīr and Hasan Amīr-i-Miran to intercede for him The Sultān pardoned him and directed him to appear before him Ahmad Ayāz came with his adherents, with their heads hanging down, and uncovered, and their turbans round their necks, and made his obeisance, near Hānsī. The Sultān directed that Ahmad Ayāz should be made over to the Kotwal of Hānsī and Malik Ghiasuddīn Khitab (i e the boy whom Ahmad Ayāz had proclaimed as Sultān—why the word Khitāb is appended to his name is not clear) should be conveyed to Tabarhindah; and Shaikh-Zādah Bastāmi should be banished The tongue of time now spoke according to the purport of the following strophe —

Verse

Each one of thy enemies, in a different way, hath time,
In the whirl of utter destruction immersed, one's dead,
And Fate hath cut the throat of one with his poniard sharp,
And one, with all his family in direst ruin's engulfed !

On the 2nd Rajab, in the year 752 A H, Sultān Firoz Shāh ascended the imperial throne at Dehli, with full power and great pomp, and spread the gospel of justice and generosity, and high and low, and in fact all mankind, had all their desires satisfied, and great joy appeared among all the people, both great and small

Verse

The king of fortune high, the breaker of his foes !
Under auspicious stars, did on the throne ascend,
His glorious greatness, with success and triumph crowned
Did all the age in newest joy and gladness steep.

On the 5th Safar, in the year 753 A.H., the Sultān marched towards the Sarmur mountains, for a pleasure excursion, and for hunting Most of the Zamindārs of the country came, and did homage to him, with the ring of bondage in their ears, and the saddle-cloth of service on their shoulders

Verse

What brightness did his grandeur all the earth encase!
What shouts of joy and triumph did to the sky ascend!
Was it the dust his army raised, or a breeze from paradise,
That into men's lives the fragrance of peace instilled!

On Monday, the 3rd Jamādi-ul-Awwal, of the year, the Prince Muhammad Khān was born in Dehli The Sultān gave great feasts, and conferred rewards and favours on the people In the following year, 754 A H, he hunted in Kalānūr and in the skirts of the hills in that neighbourhood At the time of returning to the capital, he laid the foundations of lofty edifices on the bank of the Sarsuti He conferred the title of Shaikh-ul-Islām on Shaikh Sadruddīn, son of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakariāh He honoured Malik Kabul, who was the deputy Vazir of the empire, with the title of Khān-i-Jahān, and made him the Vazīr, and bestowed the title of Khudāwand Khān on Khudāwand-Zādah Kawāmuddīn, and made him the Vakil-dar Malik Tātār became Tātār Khān, and Malik Sharaf, the Nāib Vakil-dar Saif-ul-Mulk was made the Shikār Beg, and Khudāwand Zādah 'Imad-ul-Mulk, the Silahdār 'Ain-ul-Mulk received the post of Mustaufi and Musharraf of the Diwān and on Malik Hasan Amīr-i-Mirān was conferred the position of Istifā-i-Kul

In the month of Shawwāl, in the year 754 A H, the Sultān left Khān-i-Jahān, with full powers, in the capital, and started with a large army on an expedition to Lakhnauti, so that he might put an end to the tyranny of Ilias Hājī, who had given himself the title of Sultān Shamsuddīn, and having built a great city at Panduah had extended his rule to the boundary of Banāras When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur, Udaya Singh, the headman of that place, came and did homage, and having presented suitable tribute, including two elephants, became the recipient of imperial favour Rāy Kapur, also, paid the tribute of several years, and both of them joined his army Ilias Hājī left Panduah, and betook himself

to Ekdālah, which was the strongest fort in Bangālah The Sulṭān arrived there on the 7th Rabi'ul-Awwal The same day there was a great battle, and on the 29th of that month, the Sulṭān's army left the neighbourhood of the city, and encamped on the bank of the Ganges On the 5th Rabi'-ul-ākhar Iliās Hāji came out of the fort, with the intention of giving battle; but he made a detour, and fled, and took shelter in the fort again Forty-four elephants, and his canopy and standard and a quantity of war materials, and many of his retainers, fell into the Sulṭān's hands, and a large number of his foot-soldiers were slain On the second day after this, the Sulṭān issued an order for the release of the captives, and on the 27th Rabi-'ul-ākhar, owing to the heavy rains, he agreed to a peace, and started on the march back to Dehli. He crossed the Ganges at the ferry at Mānikpur, and on the 12th Sha'bān arrived at Dehli He then laid the foundation of the city of Firozābād, on the bank of the Jūn (Jumna)

In the year 756 A H, he went to hunt in the direction of Dibālpur, and excavating a canal from the river Satlad (Sutlej) took it to Jhajhar a distance of 48 karohs The next year he excavated a canal from the river Jūn, in the vicinity of Mandal and Sarmur, and uniting seven other canals with it, took it as far as Hānsī From that place he extended it to Alisīn, and there laying the foundations of a fort, gave it the name of Hisār Firozā He then had an extensive reservoir excavated in front of the fort, filled a channel with water from it and excavated another canal from the Khākhar river, and conducting it past the foot of the fort of Sarsutī, took it to the new canal of Karah He erected a fort between these canals, and named it Firozābād He excavated another canal from the river Budhi, and carried it to the reservoir already mentioned, and further to a point beyond it

In the month of Zihijjeh of the same year, on the day of the Id-uz-Zoha, came the *farmān* of Abul Fateh, the Caliph of Egypt, confirming the kingdoms of Hind and Sind on the Sulṭān It was accepted by the latter, as a cause of happiness and pride, and gratulations The same year Iliās Hājī sent fitting tribute, and became the recipient of the imperial favour At this time the entire country of Hindustān was in the possession of the Sulṭān except Lakhnauti and the Dakhin, since the death of Sulṭān Muhammad Tughlak Shāh,

Sulṭān Shamsuddīn Iliās Hājī was in possession of the former; and Hasan Kānka of the whole of the latter, the Sulṭān having concluded a treaty with him, on his agreeing to send tribute

In the year 758 A H, Zafar Khān Fāzri came from Sonārgāon with two elephants and attached himself to the court He was received with favour and received the office of Nāib Vazīr In Zihijjeh of the year 759 A H, the Sultān started towards Sāmānah, and while engaged in hunting there, he received intelligence of a Mughal army, which had come to the vicinity of Lahore, and had returned without any conflict The Sulṭān then returned in the direction to Dehli. About the end of the year, Tājuddīn came with other nobles as ambassadors, from Lakhnauti, presented valuable and elegant articles as tribute, and was honoured with the royal favour The Sulṭān sent Malik Saifuddīn, the keeper of the royal elephants, with Arabian and Turki horses and other rich presents, in the company of Malik Tājuddīn, to Sulṭān Shamsuddīn In the spring, the news came of the death of the latter, and of the succession of his son Sulṭān Sikandar Malik Saifuddīn sent a memorial to the Sultān notifying these events The Sulṭān ordered that the presents which had been sent for Sultān Shamsuddīn should be brought back, the horses should be made over to the army of Bihār and the ambassadors should be conducted to Karah After that, in the year 760 A H, the Sultān marched towards Lakhnauti, leaving Khān-i-Jahān, in Dehli, to act as Regent during his absence At this time, he appointed Tātār Khān Governor of the territory extending from Ghazni to Multān On the way to Lakhnauti he halted for a few days at Zafarpur on account of the heavy rains At this time Shaikh-Zādah Bustāmī, who had been banished [from the kingdom], brought a robe of honour from the Caliph of Egypt, and received the title of Ā'azam-ul-Mulk Sayyad Rasuldār was at the same time sent, with the ambassadors who had come from Lakhnauti, to the court of Sulṭān Sikandar. The latter sent five elephants to Dehli with Sayyad Rasuldār, with other valuable and beautiful presents Before the arrival of Sayyad Rasuldār 'Alam Khān had come as an ambassador from Lakhnauti, and the Sulṭān started towards Lakhnauti On the way, he conferred the paraphernalia of state, such as a canopy, a durbāsh, elephants, and a red

pavilion, on Prince Fateh Khān and directed coins to be struck in his name, and officers to be appointed under him

When the Sulṭān arrived at Panduah, Sulṭān Sikandar took shelter in the fort of Ekdālah Sultān Firoz encamped in its neighbourhood, and carried on the siege. After a few days, Sulṭān Sikandar prayed for protection; and agreed to send a yearly tribute of elephants and other valuables The Sulṭān then started on his return journey, of the 20th Jamādī-ul-awwal of that year When he arrived at Jaunpur, the rains commenced. He passed the rainy season in that place, and in the month of Zihijjeh of the same year, he started by way of Bihār for Jājnagar which is situated on the border of the country of Karah Katankah When he reached the last-named place, he left Malik Qutbuddīn, the brother of Zafar Khān, with the camp and the army, and himself hastened forward, with a small retinue When he arrived at Sankrah, Rāi Sārbīn the Rājāh of the place fled, and his daughter fell into the Sultān's hands The latter called her 'daughter', and protected her Ahmad Khān who had fled from Lakhnauti, and had taken shelter in the fortress of Ranthambor, came and rendered homage to him on the way, and was dignified and honoured with great favours When the Sulṭān crossed the Mahānadi and arrived in the city of Banāras, which was the residence and stronghold of the Rāy of Jājnagar, the latter fled and escaped into Tilang The Sulṭān did not pursue him, but commenced to hunt In the meantime the Rāy sent emissaries and begged for peace. He sent thirty-three elephants, and other valuable and elegant presents The Sultān at this time returned and proceeded towards Padmāvati, which is a favourite grazing ground of elephants, to hunt for these animals He caught thirty-three of them alive, and killed two Ziā-ul-Mulk composed the following quatrain on this subject --

> The Sulṭān, who with justice, to greatness did attain,
> Did like the glorious sun the entire world o'ercrown !
> To Jājnagar he came, the elephants to hunt,
> He captured three and thirty, and two he killed

From that place he came to Karah by successive marches, and in the month of Rajab in the year 772 A H , he arrived in Dehlī

After some time he rode towards a canal which is called Aslīmah.

This comprises (is formed by the junction of) two broad perennial streams separated by a lofty dike. The Sulṭān ordered that fifty thousand beldārs (spademen) should be collected, and directed to dig the canal. Inside the dike very large bones of elephants and men were discovered, for example, the bones of a man's arm which was three yards in length. It had become petrified in part, and was still bone in part. At the same time he separated Sarhind which in reality belonged to the revenue division of Sāmānah, and formed the country to a distance of ten *karohs* from Sarhind into a separate district, and placed it in charge of Ziā-ul-Mulk Shamsuddīn Abu Rajā. He erected a fort there and named it Firozpur. From that place he marched towards Nagarkot. When he reached the skirts of the hills, and people brought him some ice, he said, "When Sultān Muhammad Shāh, on whom be the mercy of God! who was my master, reached this place, and his attendants brought him some iced sharbat, he did not drink any, as I was not present." He then ordered that a few elephant and camel loads of candy which they had in the camp should be used for making iced sharbat, to be distributed among the soldiers, in memory of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh. The Rājā of Nagarkot, after a siege and some fighting, hastened with his sons to do homage to the Sulṭān, and placed the saddle cloth of service on their shoulders. The Sultān treated him with kindness. He changed the name of Nagarkot, and called it Muhammadābād after Sultān Muhammad deceased. At this time people represented to the Sultān, that at the time when Sikandar [1]Zulqarnain had reached this place, the people of the country fashioned an image of [2]Nushāba and placed it in a house, and now it had be-

[1] Zulqarnain means bicornous or two horned. Jupiter Ammon, Alexander the Great and 'Ali bin Abi Tālib were among others called Zulqarnain. See for details Encyclopaedia of Islām, vol. I, p. 691.

[2] Nushaba was a queen of a country called Barda' بردع. This country was pillaged and she was taken away as a captive by the Russians! She was rescued by Alexander the Great and afterwards became his mistress. See the Sikandar nāmah. It is difficult to say where Barda' was. There is one Barda' which was once the largest town in the Caucasus but is now a village with ruins on the Terter at the confluence of that river with the Qura. Briggs in his translation of Ferishtah calls Nushāba wife of Alexander the Great, but Ferishtah's text does not say so. Col. Ranking commenting on Briggs tries to identify Nushāba with one of Alexander the Great's wives, and says

come an object of worship to the people, and there were one thousand and three hundred books of the ancient Brāhmans, in this temple, which is known as Jālāmukhi[1] And the Sulṭān sent for the learned men of that tribe, and ordered some of the books to be translated. Among these, 'Izzuddīn Khālid Khānī, who was among the poets of that age, translated into verse a book on natural philosophy and auguries and omens, and called it the Dalāel-i-Firoz Shāhī This *Faqir* has read it In truth it is a book[2] containing various philosophical facts both of science and practice

In short, after the conquest of Nagarkot, the Sulṭān marched towards *Thatha*, and when he reached it, the *Jam* who was the ruler of the place, entrenched himself and relying on the strength of the water, waged war for a time, and the Sultān retired to *Gujrāt* on account of the dearness of grain, and the want of fodder, and the great extent of water Passing the rainy season there, he again returned to *Thatha* He conferred the government of *Gujrāt* on *Zafar Khān* and dismissed[3] *Nizām-ul-Mulk* The latter came with his dependants to Dehli and became the *Nāib* (deputy) *Vazīr* When the Sultān reached *Thatha*, the *Jām* begged for safety, and rendered homage The meaning, full of truth, of the couplet

For protection he prayed, I granted it to him,
With humbleness he came, his life I gave to him,

having been accepted by his enlightened mind, the Sultān brought him with all the *Zamindārs* of that country to Dehli

In the year 772 A H, (1370 A D) Khān-i-Jahān died and Junān[4] Shāh, his eldest son had the title conferred on him

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that if she was really one of them, then she must have been the same as Roxana whose name might have been written as روشانه which might have been perverted by copvists' errors to نوساته I think Nushāba is entirely mythical

[1] Col Ranking calls it Jawāllamukhī The correct transliteration of the Sanskrit name is Jvālāmukhī which means of the Flaming Mouth See his translation of the Muntakhābāt-ut-tawārīkh, vol I, p 331

[2] Badāonī describes it as 'moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects', ibid, p 332

[3] Amīr Husain, son of the late Amīr Mīran, (Elliot III, 326)

[4] The name is given variously in the MSS as Junān Shāh and Khubān Shāh He remained Vazīr for twenty years, but towards the end of the reign, enmity broke out between him and prince Muhammad Khān, afterwards Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh

In the year 773 A H, (1371-72 A D.) Zafar Khān died in Gujrāt and his eldest son was invested with the title of Zafar Khān and the government of Gujrāt On the 12th of the month of *Safar* in the year 776 A H Shāhzādāh Fateh Khān died at [1]Kahtur

In the year 776 A H Shamsuddīn Dāmghānī represented to the Sultān that he would send forty lakhs tankahs over and above the fixed revenue of Gujrāt, and four hundred elephants and two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves every year, if he was appointed Governor of Gujrāt. The Sultān ordered that if Ziā-ul-Mulk Malik Shamsuddīn Ābu Rajā, who was the nāib of Zafar Khān, agreed to this enhancement, Gujrāt should be left in his charge, Malik Shamsuddīn did not agree, and Shams Dāmghānī had a [2]belt of gold lace and a lance and a silver *chaudol* conferred on him and sent to Gujrāt in place of Zafar Khān[3] deceased But as he was unable to furnish his promised contribution, he laid the foundation of rebellion and uniting with some of the Mīr Sadahs[4] of Gujrāt, such as Sheikh Fariduddīn and other leaders commenced hostilities The Sultān sent an army and Shamsuddīn Dāmghānī was killed and his head was sent to the Sultān After his being killed Gujrāt was made over to Malik Mufarrah Sultānī and he received the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk

In the year 779 A H (1377-78 A D) the Sultān marched towards Itāwah and [5]Akhal, and having treated Rāi[6] Sipar dādharan,

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[1] The name of the place is not given by Badāoni The MSS have کہتور, the lithographed edition کہتوار MS B has در کہتور بہ عالم دعا شتافت و سلطان درین الم دستار نمود Kahtur or Kahtwar was the old name for Rohilkhand

[2] These were the insignia of office Col Ranking calls them a yellow girdle and a silver *chandol* in his translation of the Muntakhābāt-ut-Tawarikh (see vol I, p 324), and in the Persian text as edited by him (vol I, p 251) the کمر بند is described as زرد but the چوڈول is correctly spelt

[3] So it is in the MSS and in the lith edn but as we have just seen his son received the title of Zafar Khān and the government of Gujrāt The son's appointment, however, did not apparently take effect

[4] i e leaders of hundreds, some kind of headmen

[5] Col Ranking calls it Akchak Ferishtah calls it اکہل, the lith edn of the Tab-i-Akbari and two of the MSS write it اکحل two others اکحل while the fifth omits it

[6] This name is variously given in the MSS and the lith edn, Badāoni gives no name

and all the Zamindārs of Itāwah who had once fought with the Sultān's army and been routed, with favour and consideration, sent them with their wives and children to Dehli He built forts at Akhal and [1]Batlāhī, and left Malik-zādah Firoz, son of Malik Tājuddīn Turk, with a number of other nobles there Firozpur Batlāhī was also made over to him and Akhal to Malik Afghān The Sultān then returned to Dehli. In the same year the ruler of Oudh who was accompanying the Sultān died, and the province was made over to Malik [2]Saifuddīn, his eldest son

In the year 781 A H (1379 A D) he marched to [3]Sāmānah and Malik Qabul, the Governor, brought much tribute, and then passing through Ambāla and Shāhābād he came to the hills of [4]*Sāntur*, and after receiving tribute from the Rāy of Sarmur and other Rāys, returned towards Dehli On the way news arrived, that [5]Kharku, the headman of Kaithar had invited Saiyad Muhammad, the Governor of Badāun and Saiyad 'Alāuddīn his brother as guests in his own house and had killed them both And in the year 782 A H (1380 A D) the Sultān marched towards Kaithar for avenging the murder of the Saiyads, Kharku fled, the country of Kaithar was devastated Kharku fled to the Kamāun hills The Sultān having plundered that country, made over Badāun to Malik Qabul and leaving Malik [6]Khitāb Āfghān at [7]Sambal for punishing Kharku made that country his hunting ground, so that it was completely destroyed and desolated

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[1] This is called بتلاهی or پتلاهی in the MSS Badāoni calls it Batlāhī, Ferishtah calls it تیلائی Tīlāī

[2] Two of the MSS call him یوسف الدین

[3] Sāmānah was a revenue Division of the Punjab which originally included Sarhind, but the latter place was separated from it and made into a separate district by Sultān Firoz Shāh, (see ante p 248)

[4] The lith edn calls it ماتہور, the MSS calls it مائدور except one which calls it مائدوار. Badāoni calls it کوه پایهٔ مندور

[5] The MSS calls him Kharku, Khukhu, and Khukar Badāoni calls him Rāy Lakhukhar, headman of Kaithal In his Eng trans Col Ranking calls him Khūkhar Rāi, chief of Kaithar Kaithar (same as Kahtar) is Rohilkhand See Thomas, Pathan Kings, p 325, note 2

[6] He was doubtless the man in whose charge Akhal was left Ferishtah calls him Malik Da'ud Āfghān

[7] Variously written Sambal and Sambhal in the lith. edn and the MSS Sambal

In the year 787 A.H. he built a fort at [1]Beuli seven *karohs* from Badāun, and named it Ferozpur, and as he did not build any other fort after this it has become known as Ākhirinpur. During this year the Sultān was overcome by infirmity and old age[2], and Khān-i-Jahān obtained complete mastery over him. He wished to seize Shāhzādah Muhammad Khān and other noblemen such as Dariyā Khān, son of Zafar Khān and Malik Y'āqub Muhammad Hājī and Malik Shams-uddīn, and Malik Kamāluddīn, who were his friends and well-wishers, and make them completely helpless. He informed the Sultān that the Shāhzādah in conjunction with the above-named noblemen intended to rise against the Sulṭān. The latter believing his words gave orders that the noblemen should be arrested. The Shāhzādah heard this news, and for some days did not go to see his father, Khān-i-Jahān sent for [3]Dariyā Khān on the pretext of taking the accounts of Mahobah, and imprisoned him in his own house. The Shāhzādah hearing this news became perplexed and frightened, and went to see his father[4] and impressed on him that Khān-i-Jahān wanted to attempt a rebellion, and wished to remove the great nobles, and afterwards to seize him. The Sulṭān gave orders for slaying Khān-i-Jahān, and released Dariyā Khān from custody. The Shāhzādah directed Malik Y'āqub to keep the horses in the special[5] stables ready and also that Malik Qutbuddīn, the keeper of the elephants should array them and begin a fight. At the end of the night the Shāhzādah attacked Khān-i-Jahān with great force. Khān-i-Jahān came out of his house with some men and commenced fighting. At last he was

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was in Rohilkhand, 23 miles S.W. of Moradabad. (See note 4 Col. Ranking's trans. of Badāoni, p. 364.)

[1] Variously called بدولي or هولي in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Badāonī calls it بدولی, and Col. Ranking thinks that the place was possibly so called from the abundance of the *Babul* or Acacia Arabica trees there. Ferishtah calls it بسولی Basuli.

[2] Badāonī says he was now 90 years of age.

[3] This is not mentioned by Badāonī. Mahobah was a district near Karah, it was 54 miles to the South of Hamīrpūr at the junction of the Betwa and the Jumna.

[4] Ferishtah says that he went concealed in a woman's litter disguised as his own wife, but this is not mentioned by the earlier historians.

[5] It is not clear whether this means the Sultān's or the Shāhzādah's stables.

wounded and being discomfited went into the house, and going out by another way took refuge with [1]Kuka Chauhān, the zamindār of Miwāt The bādshāzādah destroyed his house, and put to death [2]Malik 'Imād-ud-dowlah and Malik Shamsuddīn and Malik Sāleh who had in the fight fallen into his hands After this event the Sultān made the Shāhzādah[3] Vazīr with full power, and having made over to him all the paraphernalia of sovereignty such as horses and troops and elephants, and conferring on him the title of Nāsiruddīn-wad-duniyā Muhammad Shāh, betook himself to devotion and service of God On fridays[4] the Khutbah was read in the names of the two bādshāhs

Sultān Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne in the month of Sh'abān of the year 789 A H (1387 A D), and keeping the officers of State in their various offices, gave them robes of honour Malik Y'āqub was invested with the title of Sikandar Khān and Gujrāt was made over to him Malik Rāju received the title of Mubāriz Khān, Kamāl 'Umr that of Dastur Khān, and Samā-'Umr that of Mu'in-ul-Mulk Malik Y'āqub who had received the title of Sikandar Khān was sent with a powerful army against Khān-i-Jahān When the army reached the neighbourhood of Miwāt, Kukā Chauhān seized Khān-i-Jahān

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[1] Badāonī calls him کوکا زمیندار میوات in one place, and میوات کوکا چوهان زمیندار in another Chauhān is the name of a Rājput tribe Miwāt was the country of the Meos, a tribe of obscure origin claiming to be Rājputs, but probably of mixed origin, closely allied to the Mīnās They probably became converts to Islām at the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni Miwāt lay South of Dehli, and in Mughal times was part of the Sūbah of Agra The chief towns were Narnoul, Alwar, Tijārah and Rewārī It now forms part of the districts of Mutra and Gurgaon, a considerable part of Alwar and some part of Bharatpur, see Hunter Imp Gazetteer, vol IX, pp 418 *et seq*

[2] Some words here are unintelligible, the lith edn has مهرار مساتى the MSS. have مثم هادي , مثعاى and مهراد مثم هاى It is either the name of some person, or means with a thousand maltreatment Badāonī does not give the names of any of Khān-i-Jahān's partisans, but merely says هوادی خانجهان بودند جندی را از امراء که

[3] وزیر مطلق , some of the MSS read وکیل مطلق Badāoni says he was made وزیر مطلق العنان , Vazīr with absolute power

[4] One MS reads after دهم ماه رجب سال مذکور جمعه, i e , on Friday the 10th Rajab of the year mentioned

and sent him to Sikandar Khān The latter having put him to death, sent his head to Shāhzādah Muhammad Shāh, and went towards Gujrāt The same year Shāhzādah Muhammad Shāh went towards the Sarmur hills on a hunting expedition While he was engaged in hunting, news came that [1]Malik Mufarrah and the leaders of the hundreds of Gujrāt had combined together and put Sikandar Khān to death, and the troops that had been with him, had been dispersed Some of them who were wounded came with [2]Sipah Sālār to Dehli Muhammad Shāh hearing this news came to Dehli, but without attempting to avenge the death of Sikandar Khān became immersed in luxury and enjoyment, and owing to his negligence, great disorders occurred in the affairs of the State

[3]Five months after these occurrences the troops of the Sulṭān turned against Muhammad Shāh on account of the envy and malice which they felt against Samāuddīn and Kamāluddīn, and laid the foundation of hostility Muhammad Shāh sent Malik Zahīr-ud-dīn Lāhori to put down the mutiny, but when he reached the field where the troops of Firoz Shāh were gathered together, the latter stoned and wounded him, and he came in that condition into the presence of Shāhzādah Muhammad Shāh, and the latter, having collected forces, went and confronted the Sulṭān's troops and fighting began Towards the end of the night the Shāhzādah's troops fought with vigour, and overwhelmed the Sultān's army The latter went and sought the protection of the Sultān The fighting went on for two days On the third day when the slaves (troops) of Firoz Shāh were reduced to great straits, they brought the Sulṭān to the field of battle and shewed him to the troops When Muhammad Shāh's soldiers and elephant-drivers saw[4] the Sultān (Firoz Shāh) they gave up fighting and[5] came towards him, and Sultān Muhammad's army

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[1] He had been made Governor of Gujrāt with the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk when Shamsuddin Dāmghānī was put to death (See ante)

[2] It is not clear who this man was, the word means the leader of troops. The lith edn has سید سالار but the MSS have سپه سالار Badāonī also has سپه سالار

[3] The lith edn has چند but all the MSS have پنج . Samāuddīn and Kamāluddīn were favourites of Muhammad Shāh.

[4] Apparently the troops were devoted to Firoz Shāh.

[5] The lith edn and four of the MSS have آمدند, but one MS has دویدند, ran

broke up and were scattered, and he, with the few who were left, went away towards the Sarmur hills The Sultān's (Firoz Shāh's) troops, who were about one *lakh* in number including horsemen and foot-soldiers, got into the palaces of Muhammad Shāh and his friends, and begun to pillage and destroy The Sulṭān listening to the words of [1]malicious persons was annoyed with Muhammad Shāh, made [2]Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fateh Khān, who was his grandson, his heir, and placed him on the throne. Tughlaq Shāh brought [3]Amīr Hasan, the son-in-law of the Sulṭān, who was among the special friends of Muhammad Shāh, into the palace and had him beheaded

He also seized [4]Ghālib Khān, the Amīr of Sāmānah, on account of his friendship with Muhammad Shāh, banished him and sent him to the country of Bihār, and gave Sāmānah to Malik[5] Sultān Shāh

On the [6]18th of the month of Ramazān Sultān Firoz Shāh[7] died Couplets

[8]To knock down heads is the nature of the skies,
One should not draw aside his head from what is writ

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[1] The lith edn and two MSS have ارباب حسد, two MSS have ارباب عرض and one ارباب حسد و عرض Badāonī had ارباب عرض, interested persons

[2] Badāonī correctly, calls him Tughlaq Khān He became Tughlaq Shāh when he was placed on the throne He became Ghiāsuddīn Tughlaq Shāh II

[3] Badāonī calls him Mir Hasan

[4] One of the MSS call him علی شاه 'Ali Shāh, but the lith edn and the other MSS and Badāonī call him غالب شاه Sāmānah was about 25 miles S W of Hānsī and 100 miles E of Dehli

[5] The lith edn calls him Malik Sultān, one MS Malik Sulṭān Shāh but the others call him Malik Sulṭān Shāh Badāonī does not say to whom the government of Sāmānah was entrusted

[6] *In the Persian text of Badāonī edited by Col Ranking the date is given as* هیزدهم, but the Eng trans has 16th

[7] Instead of the simple وفات یافت of our author, Badāonī has از زحمت وجود خلاص یافته بعالم بقا شتافت, attained deliverence from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence Badāonī also says that he was buried on the borders of the Hauz-i-Khās, and over his tomb a lofty dome was erected

[8] These lines with four others which precede them, but which have been omitted

Who knows what this stirred up dust
With what blood of hearts is mixed ?
All paths, if the seeing eye is not blind,
Is but the skin of the elk and the wild ass's shagreen.

He ruled the world for thiry-eight years and some months, and [1]'wafāt-i-Firoz' gives the date of his death This just bādshāh left among the people many regulations of justice and generosity and many rules of safety and protection Among all his regulations three were excellent The first regulation was that he entirely gave up punishment, and never punished any Musalmān or (in fact) any man[2], and on account of his many gifts and gratuities, and his comforting the hearts of the people, he had no need for punishments Although punishment is a very great part of soverignty, yet his praiseworthy manners, and his excellent qualities became the cause of justice and equity among his people, and the paths of tyranny and oppression were completely closed, and no created being had any power during the period of his rule of causing pain to any one The second regulation was this, that he demanded revenue from the raiyats according to the produce of their lands, and their power to pay, and remitted all enhancements and cesses, and never lent his ear to the words of any person in the matter of the raiyats, and this regulation became the cause of the extension of cultivation, and the happiness of his raiyats and subjects The third regulation was this, that for the government and administration of the various [3]division of his empire, he employed

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by our author are also quoted by Badāonī I have attempted a more literal translation than that of Col Ranking The last line means as col Ranking has explained that the paths are not covered with dust, but with the remains of living animals

[1] Badāonī gives two chronograms (1) وفات فیروز given by our author, and (2) بعل مدرور شاه, but says that the latter is deficient by one unit

[2] This of course is not quite correct See ante for the way he treated Kharku for the murder of the Saiyads Kharku deserved punishment, but the whole of his country was laid waste and many innocent people must have suffered grievously, and see also post, for his own account of how he treated infidels sectaries, &c, بد مذهبان, ملحدان, مبتدعان و مرائیان

[3] The lith edn has ولادت, but most of the MSS have more correctly ولایات

[1]honest and trustworthy and God-fearing officers, and never took into his service any evil-spirited or wicked person, and never made any such person a governor or an amīr (nobleman) And in conformity with the rule, that men are of the religion of their rulers, all the people imitated their ruler, and the rules of equity and justice became customary among them, and no single person had any power of harassment and oppression, and perfect peace and security was produced and reigned among high and low His charities and benefactions and gifts and gratuities were distinguished beyond those of any other Sultān of Hindustān

A brochure compiled by Sultān Firoz Shāh, in which he collected the events of his reign, and which he named Fatūhāt Firozshāhī, (the victories of Firoz Shāh) has come under my eyes In accordance with the rule, that the words of kings are the kings of words, some of the particular matters contained in it, have, for the sake of their auspiciousness and grace, been inserted here, so that the goodness of the disposition, and the amiability of the qualities of this bādshāh of the angelic nature may become known to inquisitive and far seeing persons This King, the refuge of justice, erected a lofty dome on the [2]Jāma' Masjid of Firozābād which was octagonal On the eight sides of this dome, the contents of this book which has been considered to be divided into eight chapters have been inscribed on stone One chapter is about the endowment of Masjids and in it are written directions for payment of the endowment fund by the person who is to disburse it, and about which much stress is laid In another chapter he says that in former times, the blood of Musalmāns was shed for slight

[1] The lith edn has مردم با دین و دیانت most of the MSS have عمال متدین و باامانت

[2] It is said in the Fatūhāt Firozshāhī that the Sultān completely restored and renovated the Masjid-i-Jāmā of old Dehli which had been erected by Sultān Muizuddīn Sām and had fallen into disrepair and decay I suppose this is the Jāma' Masjid mentioned in the text, but nothing is said in the Fatūhāt Firozshāhī, or at least in the extracts given in Elliot, vol III, that the contents of that brochure were inscribed on it Badāonī does not mention the Fatūhāt Firozshāhī at all After mentioning the death of the bādshāh he gives an account of the poets of the period For all references to the Fatūhāt Firozshāhī in subsequent notes see Elliot's History, vol III

offences, and many varieties of [1]punishments such as the cutting off of the hand, and the foot, and the ear, and the nose, and the [2]blinding of the eye, and the pounding of the bones of the limbs with a [3]mallet and the burning of the body with fire and driving stakes into the hands and the feet and the chest and flaying and cutting off of the sinews and tendons, and cutting the body asunder and [4]other varieties were very customary, and the Holy and High God gave me grace and I abolished all such acts And the great names of the former Sulṭāns, by whose exertions Hind has become the home of *Islām*, which had been cast out of the *Khutbah*, I having revived those names, have reintroduced them into the *Khutbah*, so that in this way prayers for the pardon of their sins might always be said And also some preposterous, and unauthorized cesses which some tyrants had included in the lawful revenue, and were levying every year with severity such as those for [5]grazing, and flower-selling, and making of indigo, and fish selling and cleaning of cotton, and silk-selling, and parching of rice, and nikāhī and, houses for the sale of liquor, and for the posts of Dārogha, and of Kotwāl, and the censor I have set every one of these aside, for the wise have said

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[1] The translator of the Fatūhāt has 'torture' The word in the text is تعذیب

[2] کور کردن, one MS has کندن digging out

[3] مدم کوب, that with which a stake is pushed into the ground, i e a mallet

[4] The translator of the Fatūhāt has in addition, pouring molten lead into the throat

[5] The actual words are چرائی و گلفروش و نیلگری و ماهی فروشی و ندافی و ریسمان فروشی و نخود بریانگری و نکاحی و خمار خانه و داروغگی و کوتوالی و احتساب For گلفروشی one MS reads کاه فروش the selling of grass, I have not been able to find out what نکاحی is It has been suggested that it was some kind of tax on marriages I suppose the last three واحتساب و داروغگی و کوتوالی were not levied on *daroghes kotwāls* and censors, but on the people generally for the subsistence of these officers The translator of the Fatūhāt gives a different list, mandavi bark, dalālat-i-bazārhā, jārāri, amirī-tamb, gulfaroshī jariba-i-tambol, changi-ghala, kitbī bīlgarī māhīfaroshi, sātinkarī, rīsmānfaroshi, raughankarī, nakhud-birvān, tahbāzāri, jhaba, kimārkhāna, dādbanki, kotwāli, ihtisābi, karhi, charāi, musadarāt, but he does not give any translation or explanatio

Couplet

Better than treasure are hearts of friends composed,
Better an empty treasury, than men in pain.

And I have decided that no revenue should be levied which is contrary to the law of the prophet on whom be peace ! And before this it was the custom, that out of the property taken from the enemy a fifth part was given to the soldier (the captor), and four shares were taken into the treasury, and I directed, in conformity with the holy law, that a fifth part only would be taken into the treasury And further, I cast out from my kingdom [1]all men of bad religion, and heretics, and promulgators of new tenets, and hypocrites, who had become the cause of the going astray of the people, and I abrogated and abolished their customs and habits and books Further it had become customary with the people of the age to wear [2]silken garments and to use silver and gold I prohibited all these and gave directions in consonance with the law of the prophet Further [3]women both Musalmān, and

[1] The words in the text are بدمذهبان و ملحدان و مبتدعان و مرائیان. a بدمذهب is any man of a bad or wrong religion, a ملحد is a heretic, an unbeliever, one who denies the resurrection of the dead, a مبتدع is a heretic, a founder of a new religion, a مرائی is a hypocrite In the Fatūhāt, the بدمذهب people are 'Shiās also called Rawāfiz', the ملحدان و اباحتیان were sects who are, said to have met at night with their women and indulged in wine and promiscuous and incestuous intercourse, and the مبتدعان و مرائیان were the followers of (1) Ahmad Sahāmī of Dehli, who called him God, (2) Ruknuddīn also of Dehli, who called him Mahdi, and (3) of a pupil of 'Ain Māhru (عین ماهرو) who set himself up as a Sheikh in Gujrāt and collected disciples who called him God

[2] According to the Fatūhāt, the Sultān forbade the wearing of garments made of silk and gold brocades, and only allowed garments approved by the law of the prophet, with trimmings of gold brocade, embroidery or braiding not exceeding 4 inches in breadth He also forbade the use of gold and silver vessels, at the royal table, and ornaments of gold and jewels on his own sword-belts and quivers He also ordered the removal of all pictures and portraits from ornamented garments and robes of honour bestowed by him, and also from all saddles, bridles, collars, censers, cups, goblets, flagons, ewers, dishes, tents, curtains and chairs.

[3] The Fatūhāt mentions Musalmān women going in palankeens and on horses, etc , or in large parties on foot and being followed by rakes, but make no mention of Kāfir women going to temples

Kāfir went to the tombs of holy men and to temples, and became the cause of a variety of disturbances I prohibited this, and erected *masjids* in place of idol-temples Further I repaired and rebuilt mosques, and houses dedicated to pious and charitable uses, built by former Sultāns, such as [1]mosques, and houses for *faqirs*, and colleges, and wells and reservoirs, and bridges and burial places which had become dilapidated, and made endowments for their maintenance And I made the hearts of such of the sons and heirs of the men whom my master, Sultān Muhammad, (on whom be the mercy of God !), had for the sake of punishment put to death or whose limbs he had ordered to be cut off, by the gift of rewards and stipends, and taking from them letters cancelling the responsibility of the Sultān, and having affixed the seals of the great and noble men have placed them in the Mausoleum of the Sultān And further whenever I heard of a recluse and a *faqir*, I considered it my duty to go to him and to comfort his heart Further among the soldiers and *amirs*, whoever had attained to a great age I made them seek absolution by my counsels and precepts, and granted stipends and gifts on them, and directed them to occupy themselves with deeds for (their salvation in) the next world

The following is a list of the buildings and other structures for pious and charitable uses founded and erected by him, water courses and canals, fifty in number, Mosques, forty in number, colleges, thirty in number, houses for *faqirs*, twenty in number, palaces, one hundred in number, inns, two hundred in number, towns, thirty in number, reservoirs, one hundred in number, hospitals, five in number, mausoleums, one hundred in number, public baths, ten in number, minarets, ten in number, wells, one hundred and fifty in number, bridges, one hundred and fifty in number, gardens, innumerable, and deeds of endowment were written for each structure and remissions (of revenue), fixed for them, and attendants and servants were appointed for all mosques, and colleges and *Khānqāhs*, and baths and wells, and stipends were fixed for them, and the particulars of these, are too long to note

Further he says that they gave him poison twice and he took it

[1] The Fatūhāt gives a list of these

[1]knowingly, and he received no hurt The other occurrences mentioned in the brochure have already been mentioned in this history, so no attempt has been made to repeat them here May the great God keep him immersed in His mercy !

Sultān Tughlaq Shāh

Sultān Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fateh Khān, son of Firoz Shāh He ascended the throne in the palace of Firozābād on the [2]18th of the month of Ramazān, 790 A H (1388 A D) by the help of certain amīrs, and assumed the title of Ghiāsuddīn Tughlaq Shāh He appointed [3]Malik Firoz, the son of Malik Tājuddīn, to the post of *Vazīr* and gave him the title of Khān-i-Jahān Ghiāsuddīn Tarmuzi got the post of Silāhdār (the keeper of arms), and releasing Malik Firoz 'Ali from prison he gave him the appointment of [4]Jāmdār, which had been his father's post Malik Firoz 'Ali and Bahādur Nāhir were sent to attack Sultān Muhammad Shāh, and Sultān Shāh, the Governor of Sāmānah, and Rāy Kamāluddīn and some other nobles were also named for this duty In the month of Shawwāl of that year the army reached the Sarmur hills Shāhzādah Muhammad Shāh retired from that place, and going into the hilly country took shelter in the fort of Baknāri, and as Tughlaq Shāh's army pursued him there, he moved from that place, till he came to the fort of Nagarkot, and the army (of Tughlaq Shāh) [5]returned from pursuit

As Sultān Tughlaq Shāh on account of [6]the vigour and fresh-

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[1] The lith edn and four of the MSS say knowingly دانسته, only one MS says not knowing it, نادانسته

[2] Badāonī does not give the date

[3] Badāonī does not mention these appointments, nor does he give the names of the *amīrs* sent to attack Muhammad Shāh He says that اُمراء نامدار, famous amīrs, were sent against Muhammad Shāh

[4] The lith edn has جامداري which I have retained in the text Three of the MSS have جهانداري, sovereignty, and the others جانداری keeping of life, جانداری probably means protection, i e perhaps the command of the king's bodyguard, جامداري would also mean the same

[5] Badāonī says the army turned back از صعوبت راه, on account of the difficulties of the way

[6] Badāonī says nothing about this nor about Tughlaq Shāh's imprisoning Sālār

ness of his youth, drowned himself in luxury and pleasure, the work of the government and the duties of the sovereignty were not attended to, and errors began to occur in the administration Tughlaq Shāh on account of the deficiency of his experience and caution imprisoned Sālār Shāh who was his uterine brother, and Abu Bakr, the son of [1]Zafar Khān who was his nephew became anxious and frightened, and sequestered himself and made his escape [2]Malik Ruknuddīn the deputy *Vazīr* and other amīrs joined him and raised a revolt and they killed [3]Malik Mubārak Kabīr at the door of Tughlaq Shāh's [4]palace in Firozābād Tughlaq Shāh knowing the violence and the large number of the rebels, left the palace with [5]Khān-i-Jahān by a door towards the river Jumna Malik Ruknuddīn coming there, and pursuing them, seized them, and put them to death and hung up their heads over the [6]same gate This event occurred on the [7]21st of the month of *Safar* 791 A H (1389 A D), and the period of his *Saltanat* was five months and three days And God knows the truth !

SULTĀN ABU BAKR SHĀH

After the event the foolish *Amīrs* raised Abu Bakr, the son of Zafar Khan, the son of Sultān Firoz on the throne and gave him the title of Abu Bakr Shāh The post of vazārat was conferred on Ruknud-

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Shāh, but he mentions Abu Bakr who he says became panic-stricken, and went to his father بعاسی بدر رسد , but neither the lith edn nor any of the MSS of the Ṭabakāt says anything about his going to his father. They say گرفته از میان بدر رسد گوشه The word بدر may have been changed to پدر

[1] He was a son of Fateh Khān

[2] Badāoni calls him Malik Ruknuddin Chanda, Vazīr and not deputy-Vazīr

[3] Ferishtah calls him Amīr-ul-umara

[4] The word both in Badāoni and in the Ṭabakāt is سرای. Col Ranking has translated it as rest house

[5] Badāoni calls him Khān-i-Jahān the Vazīr

[6] Badāoni says در دروازهٔ شهر

[7] Badāoni does not give the date and he gives 5 months and 18 days as the period of his rule The lith edn of the Ṭabakāt mentions 6 months and 18 days but the MSS give 5 months and 3 days and from the 18th Ramazān 790 A.H the date of his accession to the 21st Safar 791 A H is 5 months and 3 days

dīn. After a time it came to the knowledge of Abu Bakr Shāh that Ruknuddīn [1]*Jandah* combining with some of the Fīroz Shāhī Amīrs wanted to remove him and become Bādshāh himself Abu Bakr Shāh acting more quickly in conjunction with certain Amīrs put him to death and had him hanged,[2] and the group of men who had combined with him also became food for the sword Abu Bakr Shāh having now taken possession of Dehli and got the elephants and treasures of the bādshāhs into his possession, acquired great power and ascendancy

At this time news came that the Amīrs of hundreds had killed [3]Sultān Shāh Khushdil who was the Governor of Sāmānah on the 24th of the month of Safar of that year on the bank of the reservoir of [4]Sunām, having stabbed and wounded him with their daggers and swords, and sacked his house and sent his head to Shāhzādah Muhammad Shāh at Nagarkot Sultān Muhammad Shāh marched from Nagarkot and came to Sāmānah by way of Jalandhar, and in the month of Rabī-'ul-āwwal sat on the throne of empire a second time The Amīrs of the hundreds of Sāmānah and the Zamindārs of the country at the foot of the hills paid fresh homage to him, and some of the Amīrs of Dehli also turning their faces from Abu Bakr Shāh joined him, and [5]twenty thousand horsemen and innumerable foot-soldiers gathered round him When he marched from Sāmānah towards Dehli, and by the time he reached the neighbourhood of that city, the number of his followers amounted to fifty thousand horsemen. On the 25th of the month of Rabī-'ul-ākhir, 791 A H (1389 A D) he alighted at the palace of Jahānnumā Abu Bakr Shāh had left his troops in Fīrozābād to fight with and oppose the troops of Muhammad Shāh These troops fought with Sulṭān Muhammad's troops in the lanes of Fīrozābād on the 2nd Jamādī-'ul-āwwal of that

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[1] He is called Jandah here for the first time Badāonī as we have seen has been calling him Chandah from the beginning

[2] One MS has و او بجزای عمل خود رسید, and he obtained the reward of his deeds

[3] Badāonī says he had been sent against Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh in the country at the foot of the hills, که بر سلطان محمد شاه در دامن کوه نامزد شده بود

[4] Badāonī calls it the reservoir of Sāmānah

[5] Badāonī gives him fifty thousand followers without specifying horsemen and foot-soldiers

year The same day [1]Bahādur Nāhir came into the city with a great force, which strengthened Abu Bakr Shāh greatly On the following day Abu Bakr Shāh arranged his troops and began a fight Muhammad Shāh was routed and crossing the Jumna went into the Doāb He sent Humāyun Khān, his second son, to Sāmānah so that he might collect a force there, and he sent Malik Ziā-ul-Mulk Abu-Rajā and Rāy Kamāluddīn Mūin, and Rāy Khaljīn Bihti who were jaigīrdārs of that country, and himself took up a post at [2]Jalesār on the banks of the river Ganges

Some of the Fīrozshāhī Amīrs such as Malik Sarwar[3] the *Shahna* or Superintendent of the city, and, the Malik-ush-Sharq and [4]Nāsir-ul-Mulk, Governor of Multān, and Khawās-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Behār, and Malik Hisāmuddīn, Governor of Oudh and Saifuddīn and Malik Kabir, and the sons of Hisāmuddīn, and the sons of Doulat yār, and the Governor of Kanouj, and Rāy Shīr and other Rāys, and fifty thousand cavalry, and many infantry joined Muhammad Shāh He conferred the title of Khwājah-i-Jahān on Malik Sarwar and made him his *Vazīr*, made Khawās-ul-Mulk, Khawās Khān, Saif-ud-dīn, Saif Khān, and Nāsir-ul-Mulk, Khizr Khān, and Rāy Shīr, Rāy-Rāyan In the month of Sāfār the same year he raised his standards and marched a second time towards Dehli A battle took place with Abu Bakr Shāh at a place called Kundlī, and as the turn of sovereignty had not yet come to Sultān Muhammad, his army was defeated

Couplet

As long as the time does not come for any deed,
The help of no friend does thee any good

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[1] Badāonī calls him the خانزادهٔ میواتی In his translation Col Ranking calls him the Khānzādā of Miwat I suppose Khānzādā means prince

[2] In Badāonī the place is named Chaptar or Chitar which may be a mistake for Jalesar Col Ranking says Ferishtah calls the place Jalesar, but he does not mention the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī

[3] One MS calls him the شحنهٔ پیل شهر the superintendent of the elephants of the city

Badāoni says that Muhammad Shāh immediately on taking up his quarters in the palace of Jahānnumā conferred offices and patents of nobility and among others he made Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk Khwājah-i-Jahān, and Malik-ush-Sharq Nāsir-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Multān, Khizr Khān

[4] Badāonī makes the Malik-ush-Sharq Nāsir-ul-Mulk the Governor of Multān one man (see the preceding note) and not two men

Abu Bakr Shāh pursued him for three *karohs* and then returned towards Dehli

Muhammad Shāh again took up his station at Jalesar In the month of Ramazān of that year *Farmāns* and orders were issued to the people of Multān and Lahore and other towns for the [1]massacre of the Firozshāhī slaves wherever they might be found in any *mahalla* (quarter of a town) or lane, and in most places where these orders were carried into execution a great slaughter and immense pillage and destruction occurred on that day, and a strange disturbance took place among the people, roads were closed, and houses were sacked and destroyed Most of the rāiyats of that country withheld the payment of rents and taxes, and did a great deal of disturbance

In the month of Muharram 792 A H (1389-90 A D) Shāhzādah Humāyun Khān with other noblemen such as [2]Ghālib Khān, Governor of Sāmānah, and Ziā-ul-Mulk, and Abu Rajā and Mubārak Khān, and [3]Mullahun and Shams Khān, Governor of Hisār Firoza, collected a force, and came to Pānipat and devastated the country round Dehli Abu Bakr Shāh sent Imād-ul-Mulk with four thousand horsemen, and a large number of foot-soldiers to oppose them, and a battle occurred in the vicinity of Pānipat Shāhzādah Humāyun's army was defeated, and retired in the direction of Sāmānah As Abu Bakr Shāh had the good fortune to gain repeated victories, in the month of Jamādi-'ul-āwwal, of that year, he with a large and powerful army started towards Jalesar with the object of destroying Muhammad Shāh He encamped at a place 20 *karohs* from Dehli Muhammad Shāh leaving most of his army at Jalesar and taking with him four thousand [4]warlike men without giving battle to the army of Abu Bakr Shāh, betook himself to Dehli, taking the[5] left road The men whom Abu Bakr Shāh had left for protecting the gates of the city

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[1] Badāonī makes no mention of this

[2] Badāonī does not give any of the names He only says that Humāyun Khān called together many amīrs from the frontiers of Sāmānah

[3] This name is given variously in the lith edn and in the MSS as ملا حوں, مللحوں and هلا حوں

[4] چہار ہرار حواناں کار آمدنی Badāonī simply says با چہار ہرار کس Ferishtah says with 4000 chosen cavalry

[5] The lith edn has راہ جب گرفتہ, the MSS have راہ چپ کردہ راہ حب کردہ,

fought a little Muhammad Shāh set fire to the Badāon gate of the city, and entered it, and took up his abode in the [1]Humāyun palace The inhabitants of the city, both high and low, joined Sultān Muhammad Shāh Abu Bakr Shāh received this information, and the same day at the time of the early meal, entered the city with a great force by the same way, and having put Malik Bahāuddīn Jangī, whom Muhammad Shāh had left to defend the gates, to death went towards the Humāyun palace Muhammad Shāh,* being helpless went out by the gate of the *hauz-i-khas*, (the Sultān's reservoir) and again going back to Jalesar joined his own army Some of the amīrs who were partisans of Muhammad Shāh, such as [2]Khalīl Khān Barbak and Malik Ādam, and Ismāil, nephew of Sultān Firoz Shāh, were taken prisoners and were put to death, and some were killed in battle

In the month of Ramazān of that year [3]Mīr Hājib Sultānī became hostile to Abu Bakr Shāh and some of the slaves of Firoz Shāh, who had become amīrs, also became his enemies, and also wrote letters secretly to Muhammad Shāh Abu Bakr Shāh became completely [4]powerless, and retired towards [5]Kotla-i-Bahādur Nāhir

Badāonī has, چپ غلط کرده از راه دیگر Col Ranking has translated this as passing unobserved round his right flank Ferishtah has راه چپ کرده

[1] قصر همایون Col Ranking translates it as the palace of Humāyun I think this incorrect and misleading همایون is not the name of any person here It is an adjective meaning auspicious

[2] Badāonī does not give these names but says از کشته شدند و خیلی از امرای نامی و خدمتگاران معرب, and a number of great noblemen and his special servants were put to death

[3] There is much difficulty about this name I have adopted the reading of MS A which probably means the great chamberlain of the Sultān The lith edn and MS C has مسردت سلطانی, MS B has ورحت سلطانی MSS D and E leave the name out altogether, and say ورزیده و بعضی در ماه رمضان سنه مذکور بابوبکر شاه مخالفت and some of them having become hostile to Abu Bakr Shāh in the month of Ramazān of that year wrote letters, etc Badāonī gives the name of مبشر چپ which Col Ranking transliterates as Mubashir chap, which seems meaningless

[4] The state of his great weakness is expressed both in the text and in Badāonī by the phrase بیدست و پا شده having lost hands and feet.

[5] Badāonī calls it Kotla-i-Miwāt Bahādur Nāhir as we have seen was the chief or prince of Miwāt Col Ranking after giving the correct meaning of Kotla (Hindi

to ask for his help and left [1]Malik Shāhīn 'Imād-ul-mulk, and Malik Bahri and Safdar Khān Sulṭānī, in Dehli The period of his reign was one year and six months

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN FIROZ SHĀH

On the 16th of the said month of Ramazān the petition of Mīr Hājib, and of some of the slaves of Firoz Shāh reached Muhammad Shāh, informing him that Abu Bakr Shāh with some of his partisans had gone to Kotlah, and that the Khān-i-Khānān had placed Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh's youngest son on an elephant and had the royal umbrella held over his head On the 19th of the month of Ramazān, Muhammad Shāh arrived in Dehli and ascended the throne He gave the post of Vazīr to [2]Mīr Hājib Sulṭānī and the title of Islām Khān, and the slaves of Firoz Shāh, and all the citizens of Dehli, joined him After a few days he came into the city from Firozābād, and took up his abode in the Humāyun palace

He took all the elephants which were [3]with the Firozshāhī slaves and [4]made them over to the former elephant-drivers The former were dissatisfied on this account, and leaving the city fled in the course of a night, and with their wives and children went to Kotla-i-Nāhir and joined Abu Bakr Shāh Muhammad Shāh gave

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कोटला) as a small fortress goes on to say that by Kotila (sic) of Miwāt Hardwār or a town in its vicinity given as Coupel in Rennel's map *G m* is meant He gives as his authority a note in Elliot III, p 455 where because the MSS of Zafarnāmah have کوپله instead of کوتلہ (or کتلہ as in the Malfuzāt-i-Timuri), کوتلہ is somewhat arbitrarily changed into Kupilā said to be an old name for Hardwār

[1] Malik Shāhin and Imād-ul-Mulk are, according to Badāonī, two separate persons, but according to the lith edn and the MSS of the Ṭabakāt they are not different persons, but the name and the title of the same man

[2] See note 3, p 266

[3] The word which I have translated 'with' is پیش which literally means 'before'

[4] Badāonī does not mention this reason of the quarrel specifically He simply says عموم کرد و حکم بقتل بندگان فیروزی که در زمان هرج و مرج باعث فتنه انگیزی بودند بطریق, he gave orders for the general slaughter of the Firozi slaves, who had been in the period of disturbances the cause of tumult and rebellion.

order that whoever among the Sultān's slaves might be in the city must leave it, and they should have three days to do so The majority of them did so, and such of them as could not leave the city within the three days were seized and put to death It is well known that some of the Sultān's slaves were caught after three days, and [1]for fear of death said, "we are *asils*" Muhammad Shāh ordered that whoever among you says 'Gharāgharī' is *asil* As they could not pronounce in the way that Muhammad Shāh wanted, and spoke with the tongue of the people of the east and Bengal they were killed, and many of the people of the east who were *asils* (natives) and could not [2]speak well were also killed After three days the city had no more slaves and Khānahzāds (slaves who were the children of slaves or were born in the house of the master) of Fīroz Shāh, who had become hostile to Muhammad Shāh

Muhammad Shāh now occupied himself with the work of the government, and collecting troops from all sides and directions became very powerful Humāyun Khān, his son, who was in Sāmānah came to Dehli with a complete army and joined him, and Muhammad

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[1] Badāonī says about this درانندان و جهلی از احرار و بد، ولادت شره زرده هند تعرب حامری زبان انسان عالم دانسته زیر تیغ Col Ranking says this passage is not intelligible in itself and quotes a passage from Ferishtah Bo text, p 267, which is identical with the passage in the text of the Tabakāt to explain it Col Ranking was apparently not acquainted with the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī The explanation is not however, clear in spite of what is said in the Tabakāt or in Ferishtah Col Ranking says that Muhammad Shāh said that whoever among you says Khārī instead of Kharī is not a native (asil) and goes on to explain that Khārī as applied to water means brackish Natives of Eastern Bengal use the word Khārā instead of Khārī as an adjective to pā water, which is a masculine word The objections are (1) that neither our author nor Ferishtah says کہرا را کہری گوید as they would have, if Col Ranking's explanation was correct, (2) neither of them uses کھارا and کھاری but both have کہرا and کہری, without the l, between کھ and ر (3) there is no reason why the people of Eastern Bengal should be such sticklers for the correct gender of the word کہارا and not those of Dehli I am diffident about suggesting an explanation, but I think کہرا کہری or کہرا کہری was some dialect used by the *asil* or native elephant-drivers, so that whoever could not speak or pronounce words in this dialect was adjudged to be a foreigner and not an *asil*

[2] The lith edn as well as all the MSS have زبان خوب نمی کشت which does not make good sense کشت may be a mistake for گفت

Shāh became still more powerful He sent Humāyun Khān with Islām Khān, and Ghālib Khān and Rāy Kamāluddin and Rāy Khaljīn against Abu Bakr Shāh When the army reached Kotlah Abu Bakr Shāh and Bahādur Nāhir, and the Khānāhzāds of Firoz Shāh attacked the army of Shāhzādah Humāyun Khān, when he was totally unprepared, on a day in the month of Muharram 793 A H, and wounded some of the men In the meantime Islām Khān came from one side, and at the same time the Shāhzādah having arranged his troops began the battle At the first onset Abu Bakr Shāh with his partisans was routed, and retired into the fort of Kotlah

When this news reached Muhammad Shāh he came to Kotlah by forced marches Abu Bakr Shāh and Bahādur Nāhir begged for quarter, and came and did homage Bahādur Nāhir was presented with a robe of honour and sent back Abu Bakr Shāh was made to accompany them to *Kandi*, and from there he was separated (from the army), and sent to the fort of Mirāt, and while imprisoned there he died, and Sultān Muhammad marched back towards Dehli

In the course of that year news came of the rebellion and tyranny of Mufarrah-i-Sultānī, the Governor of Gujrāt Zafar Khān, son of Wajīh-ul-mulk, was sent as Governor of that province In the year 794 A H (1391-92 A D) the news of the rebellion of [1]Narsingh Mazkūr and Sardādharan and Bīr Bhān who were among the Zamīndārs of the Doāb came, and under the orders of the Sultān Islām Khān went to attack them Narsingh gave battle to Islām Khān and was defeated, and a great many of the Kāfirs were slain, and the Sultān's army pursued him At last he begged for safety and came with Islām Khān to Dehli At this time news came that Sardādharan had attacked the town of [2]Balārām The Sultān then marched against him in person, and when he reached the bank of the [3]black river they fled into the fort of Itāwah The day the Sultān

[1] These names cannot be made out from the lith edn and the MSS The names I have given are the results of guesses The first name is either Nar Singh or Bar Singh Badāonī has only one name Har Singhrāi, which is nearly the same as Bar Singh and Nar Singh What Mazkūr means I do not know It may be a mistake for the name of some Rājput clan

[2] The lith edn has Malakaram and the MSS Balārām and Dilārām Badāonī also has Balārām

[3] The āb Sīyāh or the Kālāpanī, or Kālī Nadī or Kālīnī is a stream lying between the Jumna and the Ganges

reached Itāwah, the Kāfirs after making a last dying struggle left the fort at night and fled The next day the Sulṭān demolished the fort, and marched towards Kanouj, and having punished the Kāfirs of Kanouj and the Rāys of Dalmau came to Jalesar, and laying the foundation of a fort here, named it Muhammadābād

In the month of Rajab of that year, a letter of [1]Khwājah-i-Jahān Nāib, who was in the city (Dehli) arrived, to the purport that Islām Khān intended to rebel, and to go away to the Punjab to create disturbances there The Sultān as soon as he heard this news, came to the city with the army of Jalesar, and constituted a court and summoned Islām Khān, and directed him to explain the truth of the matter He denied it A Hindu of the name of Gaju, and his nephew who were among his enemies, gave false testimony in the matter The Sultān punished Islām Khān, and conferred the post of Vazīr on Khān-i-Jahān He sent Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk with an army to Muhammadābād

In the year 795 A H (1392-93 A D) the news of the revolt and insurrection of [2]Sardādharan and Jit Singh Rāthore and Bīr Bhān the headman of Bhāsunhu reached the Sultān He appointed Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk to suppress this rebellion When the two sides met, Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk started negotiations for peace, and having satisfied the Rāys by engagements and promises made them submit and swear allegiance to the Sultān and brought them with him to Kanouj and there treacherously had them put to death Rāy [3]Sīr, however, escaped and reached Itāwah and Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk returned to Muhammadābād

In the month of Shawwāl of the same year the Sultān proceeded in the direction of Miwāt, and pillaged and devastated (the coun-

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[1] Badāoni has a single sentence about this in the Persian text, و درین سال اسلام خانرا به تهمت اراده بغی سیاست فرمود , but in the English translation even this is omitted.

[2] Badāoni does not name any of the rebels He calls them collectively the متمردان ولایت اتاوه , which Col Ranking translates as the mutineers in the district of Itāwah. The names I have got are the best guesses that I could make after collating the lith edn and the MSS The name of the place of which Bīr Bhān was the headman may be anything from Bhu or Su to Phāsulothu or Bhāsunhu

[3] The lith edn and all the MSS call him Sīr or Sar I wonder whether he is the same as Sardadharan

try), and going from Muhammadābād to Jalesar, there fell ill At this time news was brought that Bahādur Nāhır had attacked some places near Dehlı, and had caused damage The Sultān ın spite of his weakness marched towards Mıwāt When he reached Kotlah, Bahādur Nāhır came and confronted him, but being defeated took shelter in Kotlah; but as he could not maintain himself there he fled and went to [1]Jar Jar The Sultān came to Muhammadābād to superintend the erection of buildings which he had commenced, and at this time his illness increased In the month of Rabī-'ul-āwwal 796 A H (1393-94 A D) he appointed Shāhzādah Humāyun Khān to lead an army against Sheikhā Khokar who had revolted and taken possession of the fort of Lahore The Shāhzādah was about to march towards Lahore, when on the 17th of the month of Rabī-'ul-āwwal of that year the news of the [2]death of the Sulṭān came, and the Shāhzādah waited in the city The reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh extended to six years and seven months

SULTĀN 'ALĀUDDĪN SIKANDĀR SHĀH

(He was) the second son of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh who had borne the title of Humāyun Khān When Sultān Muhammad Shāh died, he performed the rites of mourning for three days, and then on the 19th Rabī-'ul-āwwal of that year he ascended the throne by the consent of the Amīrs, and Maliks, and Saiyads and Qāzīs, and the great men of the city (Dehli) He appointed Khwājah-i-Jahan to be his Vazīr, and he confirmed all the officers in their appointments On the fifth day of the month of Jamādī-'ul-āwwal of the same year he became ill and died

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[1] The name of the place cannot be made out The lith edn has در حر حرید and the MSS have در حر حر در امد, and در حر خر در آمد and در جهر حر ید and در جهر حر ید

[2] Badāonī says در حظیرهٔ پدر بکنار حوض خاص مدفون شد, which Col Ranking translates, 'and was buried in the Mausoleum of his father on the bank of the Hauz-i-Khās ' This latter was a reservoir constructed by Firoz Shāh It is said in the Zafar-nāma of Yazdi to be "so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dehli obtain water from it all the year round The tomb of Firoz Shāh is by its side." (Elliot, III)

[3] He was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Hauz-i-Khās

Couplet

What is fortune and wealth, Sir ! if fate is not thy friend !
None can eat at this table but his allotted share !

The period of his reign was one month and sixteen days And God alone knows all

SULṬĀN MAHMŪD SHĀH (youngest son of Muhammad Shāh)

When Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn passed way, most of the Amīrs such as Ghā Khān, Governor of Sāmānah, and Rāy Kamāluddīn Mu'in, and Mubārak Khān Halāju, and Khāwās Khān, Governor of Anderi and Karnā left the city and wanted to go away to their jāgīrs, without taking leave of Sulṭān Mahmūd Khān-i-Jahān receiving information of this, and having given them hopes of favour brought them into the city, and on the 20th day of the month of Jamādi-'ul-āwwal of that year by the help of the amīrs and the maliks and the great men of the city he ascended the throne in the Humāyun palace and received the title of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd Shāh He confirmed Khwājah-i-Jahān in the post of Vazīr, and conferring on Muqarrab-ul-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān made him his [1]heir, and bestowing the title of S'ādat Khān on 'Abdur Rashīd Sulṭānī made him the Bārbegī (the chamberlain), and Malik Sārang received the title of Sārang Khān, and was made the Governor of Dibālpur, and the title of Doulat Khān was conferred on Malik Daulatyār Dabīr, and he was made the [2]Ariz-i-Mumālik which was formerly the post of Imād-ul-Mulk

As the affairs of [3]furthest Hindustān, i e Jaunpur and the country round it had passed out of control on account of the violence of the zamīndārs, the Sulṭān made over the country from [4]Kanouj to Behar

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[1] Ferishtah says he was made Vakil-us-Saltanat and Amīrul-Umrā

[2] The عارض ممالک was the pay-master of the forces He had to bring all who sought employment or promotion before the Sulṭān and to explain the facts of his case He was afterwards called the Bakhshī, see Irvine "The Army of the Indian Moghals", p 38

[3] The various readings are مایان and پایان and رایان هندوستان The last is manifestly incorrect as the Rāys could not be Jaunpur and that neighbourhood The correct reading, I think, is پایان meaning the furthest part

[4] This agrees generally with the Persian text of Badāonī where it is said باستصواب فرمود خواجهٔ جهان را بسلطان الشرق مخاطب ساخته از قنوج تا بهار بعهدهٔ اختیار و قبضه

to Khwājah Sarwar, who had been made Khwājah-i-Jahān, and whom Sultān Muhammad had nominated to be the Governor of Jaunpur, conferring on him the title of Sultān-ush-Sharq, and in the month of Rajab 796 A H, sent him with 20 elephants and a powerful army to that country The Sultān-ush-Sharq acquired great power in those districts and subjugated the [1]zamindārs and brought them under control He rebuilt some of the [2]fortresses which they had demolished The Rāy of Jājnagar and the bādshāh of Lakhnauti sent to him the presents and the tribute which they had every year sent to Sultān Firoz Shāh

The same year [3]Sārang Khān was despatched under the orders of the Sultān to bring Dibālpur under control, and to suppress the disturbances caused by Sheikhā Khokhar, and having reached Dibālpur in the month of Sh'abān of that year, and having put his army in good order, he, in the month of Ziqādah of the year 700 A H (1393-94 A D) marched towards Lahore taking with him Rāi Khaljin Behtu, and Rāi Dā'ud, and Kamāl Mu'in and the army of Multān, and when he arrived near that city, Sheikhā Khokhar met him with a complete force, fully equipped for battle, and at a [4]place twelve *Karohs* from Lahore the two armies met and a battle took place A breeze of victory and triumph blew over the standard of Sārang Khān, and Sheikhā Khokhar being routed retired to the hills of Jamun The following day Sārang Khān took possession of the fort of Lahore and leaving Malik Kandhu, his brother, to whom he gave the title of 'Adil Khān there, came himself to Dibālpur

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اقتدار او بار کداشته رهصب which means that he was made governor of the whole country from Kanouj to Behar Col Ranking, however, incorrectly translates the passage and says "and transferred him from Qanouj to Behar with full powers," etc

[1] Badāoni says he went as far as Jājnagar

[2] Badāoni says that the fortresses which he rebuilt were in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandila, Malūta, Bahraich and Tirhut Malūta may be a mistake for Dalmau Col Ranking says one MS has دملوا and his Persian text has a redundant, وملوتا , و سند له و The و may be a mistake for د

[3] According to Badāoni (both Persian text and translation) Sārang Khān was sent by the Sultān-ush-Sharq, but the latter apparently had nothing whatever to do with his appointment

[4] Badāoni calls the place سامولتله which should, I think, be transliterated as Sāmothla. Col Ranking makes it Sāmothala

In the month of Sha'bān of the aforesaid year, Sulṭān Mahmud Shāh marched towards Gwālior and Biānah taking S'ādat Khān with him and leaving Muqarrab Khān with some elephants and some [1]troops of the special regiments in the city [2]When the Sulṭān reached the neighbourhood of Gwālior Malik 'Alāuddīn Dharval, [3]and Mubarak Khān and the son of Malik Rāju and Mallu, brother of Sārang Khān, conspired against S'ādat Khān The latter receiving information of this seized Malik 'Alāuddīn and Mubārak Khān and put them to death Mallu fled and went to Muqarrab Khān in Dehli The Sulṭān returned with great speed and came to [4]Dehli Muqarrab Khān hastened to receive him, and as he noticed some displeasure in his mind owing to Mallu having come to him, he [5]got into the city by deceit and stratagem and raised the standard of hostility. The Sultān with S'ādat Khān besieged the city for three months and skirmishes took place everyday For three months [6]this state of things continued During this time [7]some of the well-wishers of

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[1] جمعی از خاصه خیل

[2] Badāoni says that a spacious mosque مسجد جامع was built of stone by the Sulṭān when he was marching to Gwālior at a place called Basāur, which was still standing in his time

[3] Badāoni makes Mubārak Khān the son of Malik Rāju but the lith edn and the MSS all have a و between the words مبارک خان and the words ملک راجو پسر He also calls Mallu, Mallu Khān

[4] Badāoni says در سواد شهر فرود آمد , which Col Ranking translates 'encamped at some distance from the city '

[5] Badāoni says حصاری شد , i e he entrenched himself

[6] The lith edn says تا سه ماه ابتعمر صحبت گرم بود , all the MSS say تا سه ماه این صحبت گرم بود , the meaning is not clear The literal meaning is for three months this companionship remained warm Did the author wish to be mildly humorous ! I have given a somewhat free translation

[7] Col Ranking says that the account given by Badāoni is unsatisfactory and quotes from Ferishtah Bo text, p 279, to clear up matters It does not appear, however, that there is much difference between Badāoni and the account given in the text and that given by Ferishtah The only differences are that Ferishtah says, (1) That Muqarrab Khān became alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Mallu Khān and fled to the city and (2) Sultān Mahmud recognised that the fighting was all due to S'ādat Khān and he joined Muqarrab Khān at the instigation of his own intimates" As regards (1) there is no reason why Muqarrab Khān should be

Muqarrab K̲h̲ān deceived the Sulṭān and brought him into the city, but the elephants and horses and other paraphernalia of the empire remained with S'ādat K̲h̲ān Muqarrab K̲h̲ān feeling stronger on account of the coming of the Sulṭān came out of the city with the intention of giving battle, but being defeated again took shelter in the fort. When S'ādat K̲h̲ān saw that the capture of the fort of Dehli was difficult, and the rains had commenced, he left the vicinity of the city and went to Firozābād, and acting in concert with his partisans, sent for Nasrat S̲h̲āh, son of Fateh K̲h̲ān, son of Firoz S̲h̲āh who was in Miwāt, and in the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of that year, placed him on the throne at Firozābād and gave him the title of Nāsiruddīn Nasrat S̲h̲āh

When Nasrat K̲h̲ān's amīrs saw that he was nothing more than a puppet, they by means of deceptions and tricks separated him from S'ādat K̲h̲ān, and a number of them attacked S'ādat K̲h̲ān, who was taken by surprise He, being unable to withstand them, went to Dehli, and joined Muqarrab K̲h̲ān and that traitor treacherously seized him and put him to death The Nasrat S̲h̲āhī amīrs such as Muhammad Muzaffar and Shahāb Nāhir and Fazl-ul-lāh Balkhi and the Firozshāhī slaves all renewed their allegiance to Nasrat S̲h̲āh Muhammad Muzaffar was made [1]Vakīl-i-Mumālik and received the title of Tātār K̲h̲ān Shahāb Nāhir was made Shahāb K̲h̲ān, and Fazl-ul-lāh Balkhi, Qutlugh K̲h̲ān And between Dehli and Firozābād there were two bādshāhs Muqarrab K̲h̲ān left Bahādur Nāhir with a great force in the fort of old Dehli, and he entrusted the outer fort to Mallu whom he have the title of Iqbāl K̲h̲ān There were skirmishes and battles everyday between Dehli and Firozābād, and the two sides were generally on a footing of equality Some of the parganās in the Doāb, and Pānīpat and [2]Sonpat and Ruhtak and Jhajar up to twenty *Karohs* from Dehli remained in the possession

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alarmed at the splendour of the court He was probably quite accustomed to it As regards (2) both Badāonī and our author says that Mahmud S̲h̲āh was deceived by some partisans of Muqarrab K̲h̲ān and there is no reason why they should be disbelieved and preference should be given to a much later historian

[1] The lith edn has *Vakil*, the MSS except one, which has *Vakīl Vazir*, have *Vazīr*

[2] The lith edn and one MS has سن پت, the other MSS have سون پت- Badāonī gives the names of all the places except Sunpat and he has سنبل Samba in addition

of Nasrat Shāh, while Mahmud Shāh had no place but the fort of Dehli, and the [1]treasury Each of the amīrs and maliks of these two bādshāhs, taking possession of a province aspired to independence, and became rulers and kings on their own account, and for three years the affairs of the country remained in this state Hemistich Distraction seizes a land that has two kings

In the year 798 A H (1395 A D) Sārang Khān, the Governor of Dībalpur and Lahore, who had in fact been appointed by Mahmud Shāh became hostile to Khizr Khān, the Governor of Multān. Some of the slaves of Malik Behti joined Sārang Khān The latter gaining strength seized Multān And in the month of Ramazān in the year 799 A H (1396 A D.) attacked Ghālib Khān who was the Governor of Sāmānah on the side of Nasrat Shāh Ghālib Khān gave him battle, and being defeated came to Tātār Khān at Pānīpat Nasrat Shāh hearing this [2]news sent ten elephants and some troops to reinforce Tātār Khān On the 15th day of Muharram in the year 800 A H (1377 A D) a battle took place near the town of Kotlah Sārang Khān was defeated and retired towards Multān Malik [3]Almās took possession of Sāmānah and made it over to Ghālib Khān and [4]pursued Sārang Khān as far as Talwandī and returned

In the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal Mirza Pīr Muhammad, grandson

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[1] The lith edn has تہرانه the MSS have حرانه I have adopted the reading of the MSS though حرانه can scarcely be called a place Badāonī says, و حصاری چند ودراں کہنه چوں دهلي و سیری و عدراں در قدص سلطاں محمود مابد , i e and a few forts, in ruins and old, such as Dehli and Sīrī, etc , remained in the possession of Sultān Mahmud, and he also quotes the proverb تا پالم حکم حداوند عالم از دهلي , i e the rule of the lord of the world is from Dehli to Pālam

[2] There are different readings اين حدر را ، اس را ، ادرا

[3] The lith edn and all the MSS have ملک العاس Malik Almās The Persian text of Badāonī has الماس Almas, but Col Ranking has Ilyas in the English translation, and in a note says "MS (A) الياس ," Ferishtah has ملک الياس Malik Ilyās

[4] The lith edn and one MS have و تا تلوندي تعاقب او نموده تاتار خان مراجعت نموده The other MSS have تا تلوندی تعاقب او نموده مراجعت نمود It is not clear whether Malik Almās was in command or Tātār Khān Badāonī says Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Talwandi and sending Kamāluddīn Mubīn in pursuit of Sārang Khān returned.

of the Amir [1]Sāhib Qirān Taimur Gurgān crossed the river [2]Indus, and besieged the fort of Uchh Malik 'Alī who was the Governor of Uchh on behalf of Sārang Khān, entrenched himself and for a month did [3]his best to defend himself Sārang Khān sent [4]Malik Tājuddīn Nāib with four thousand brave horsemen to aid and reinforce Malik 'Alī Mirza Pīr Muhammad becoming aware of this left the fort, and advancing to meet the enemy suddenly fell upon him Malik Tājuddīn was routed and Mirzā Pīr Muhammad following close on his heels, besieged the fort of Multān The warfare went on for six months, and there were battles everyday At last he begged for quarter and went and did homage to Mirzā Pīr Muhammad The latter after the capture of Multān waited for a few days in those parts

In the month of Shawwāl of that year [5]Iqbāl Khān went to Nasrat Shāh and they entered into an engagement in the tomb of Sheikh Qutbuddīn Bakhtyār Kākī, may God make his grave holy ! with the holy words (the Qurān) between them, and he took Nasrat Shāh into the citadel of [6]Jahānpanāh Mahmud Shāh with Muqurrab Khān and Bahādur Nāhir remained entrenched in old Dehli On the third day (after that) Iqbāl Khān, making Nasrat Shāh careless by deceit and treachery, tried to seize him Nasrat Shāh in a helpless condition came out of the citadel and betook himself to Firozābād,

[1] قران means the conjunction of two beneficent planets, Jupiter, the Lord of felicity and Venus Taimur was called Sāhib-i-qirān as he was born under such a conjunction Col Ranking has translated it by the word great Gurgān, according to note 1, p 353 vol I, of Col Ranking's translation of Badāonī means a son-in-law or a prince allied by marriage with some mighty monarch The author of the Ṭabakāt always calls him حضرت صاحب قرانی

[2] Ferishtah says 'by a bridge of boats '

[3] دست و پا زدن beat out his hands and feet, i e struggled in vain

[4] Badāonī calls him Malik Tājuddīn Bakhtiār and says he had only 1,000 horsemen

[5] Badāonī says مشهور بملو , i e better known as Mallu

[6] Badāonī both Persian text and translation has Jahān-numā but it is said in a note that one of the MSS has Jahān-panāh but as Ferishtah has Jahān-numā Col Ranking has adopted that reading The lith edn and all the MSS of the Ṭabakāt have Jahān-panāh This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Dehli, connecting old Dehli with Sīrī See Elliot, vol , III, p 448. Jahān-numā was a palace

but did not stay there also and went to [1]Tātār Khān (his) Vazīr, and Firozābād came into the possession of Iqbāl Khān. Muqarrab Khān then took shelter in the citadel of Jahānpanāh and attended to his own safety [2]Iqbāl Khān collecting a force attacked the house of Muqurrab Khān by surprise, and [3]refusing to give him quarter put him to death He did not, however, cause any injury to Sultān Mahmud Shāh, and making him a puppet managed the affairs of the State himself

In the month of Zīqādeh of that year he marched to Pānīpat to attack Tātār Khān. The latter leaving a force with some elephants in the fort marched towards Dehli by another route After three days the fort of Pānīpat was captured and the elephants and equipage of Tātār Khān came into the possession of Iqbāl Khān Although he tried his best Tātār Khān was unable to capture Dehli, and on hearing of the capture of Pānīpat he [4]became helpless and went to his father in Gujrāt Iqbāl Khān came to Dehli and he conferred the title of 'Ādil Khān on Nasīr-ul Mulk who was a partisan of his own, but who was a relation of Tātār Khān, and had been the cause of his going to Pānīpat to attack the latter, and placed Sāmānah as far as the Doāb under his charge, and he laid the foundation of his rule with solidity

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[1] According to Badāoni he was at Pānīpat

[2] The lith edn and all the MSS read as above but it is clear that there is some omission here Badāoni is clearer, he says تمام حشم و فیل نصرت شاهی بدست اقبال خان مدبر افتاد، و تا مدت دو ماه میان مقرب خان و اقبال خان هر روز جنگ و جدال بود، و بعضی امرا درمیان در آمده این هر دو سردار را با یکدیگر صلح دادند و بعد از چند روزی اقبال خان بر سر مقرب خان رفته حوالی او را بیک ناگاه محاصره کرد و امان داده او را بدرجهٔ شهادت رسانید, i e the whole of the army and elephants of Nasrat Shāh fell into the hands of the astute Iqbāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amīrs, peace was established between these two leaders, but after a few days Iqbāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān, and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him, and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom

[3] The lith edn and most of the MSS say امانی نداده One MS like Badāoni says امان داده

[4] The lith edn and all the MSS say, بی پا شده His father was Zāfar Khān According to Badāoni he went to his father با جمعیت انبوه, i e with a great following

In the month of Safar 801 A H (1378 A D) news came that the great Amīr Taimūr Gurgān having attacked [1]Talambah had arrived in Multān; and he put to death all those whom Mīrza Pīr Muhammad had taken prisoner Iqbāl Khān became [2]frightened on hearing this news, and began to collect and equip his troops Amīr Taimūr (or Hazrat Sāhib Qirānī) marching from Multān, besieged the fort of [3]Bhatnīr, and having made Rāi [4]Khaljīn Behti prisoner, put all the people who had taken shelter in the fort to death, and from that place he overran the districts of Sāmānah, and a number of men from Dībālpur and [5]Ajodhan and Sarsutī fled from those places and came to Dehli, and most of the people were taken prisoner and slain. The Amīr Sāhib Qirān leaving that place and being guided by fortune and his high destiny came to the country of the Doāb, and having plundered the country and taken the [6]people captive, encamped in the town of [7]Lūnī People say that between the river Indus and the river Ganges about fifty thousand people were taken captive and an enormous number were killed, and a number of people fled into [8]the hilly country

In the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of the year 801 A H he crossed the Jumna and encamped at Firozābād, and on the following day he

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[1] Situated at the junction of the Jhelum and Chenab rivers

[2] The lith edn and all the MSS except one have رهم ناک, the remaining MS has عم ناک

[3] The name of the place is given differently from بهیرا Bhirā or Bahirā to بهتنیر Bhatnīr Badāoni has Bhat but Col Ranking says one MS has بهتدر which he says should be Bhatnīr

[4] The lith edn and two of the MSS have رای خلجین, the others have رای دولعین Badāonī calls him خلجین Jaljīn The Bo text of Firishtah calls him راو خلجی Rāo Khaljī The Malfuzāt-Taimūri calls him راو دولچین Rāo Dulchain Badāonī says he was also put to death but the Ṭabakāt does not explicitly say so

[5] Ajodhan is Pākpattan It contains the tomb of Sheikh Farīduddīn Ganj-i-Shakar, which was visited by Taimūr

[6] The lith edn and the MSS all say اکثر جاها را تاراج و اسیر کرده Probably the words خلایق را have been omitted before اسیر کرده.

[7] Lūnī was 7 miles N N W of Dehli on a doāb between the Jumna and the Halīm Taimūr arrived there on the 27th Rabī'-ul-āwwal.

[8] Two of the MSS say درکوهها درآمده مختفی شدند coming into the hilly country concealed themselves

arrived on the bank of the Hauz-i-khās Iqbāl Khān coming out of the city made a last dying effort, but at the first charge he was routed by the heroes of the victorious army, and vast numbers were trodden down and others were killed and taken captive, and most of his elephants and equipages fell into the hands of the great Taimūr, when night approached [1]Mallu Khān abandoning his family and children went to the town of [2]Baran, and Sultān Mahmud taking a few of his servants[3] and special adherents took the road to Gujrāt On the following day the great Sahib Qirāni gave quarter to the citizens of Dehli, and appointed men to collect the price of the quarter he had granted By accident a few of the citizens on account of the harshness of some of the collectors refused to pay, and slew some of the latter This became the cause of the bursting out of the flames of the wrath of the great Taimūr, and he gave orders for the slaughter and capture of the inhabitants of the city During that day an immense number were killed and taken captive, but in the end the [4]royal clemency drew the pen of forgiveness over the guilt of the citizens, and he proclaimed quarter and protection to them After

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[1] With the downfall of his fortune he ceased to be Iqbāl Khān and became Mallu Khān The lith edn and two of the MSS give him that name The other MSS have the pronoun او

[2] Baran is the modern Bulandshahar

[3] The lith edn and one MS has نوکران the other MSS have نزدیکان i e those near him

[4] According to Badāonī it was the intercession of Sheikh Āhmad Kathu which evoked the clemency He says روز چهارم حکم قتل عام فرمود و همه را بتعاقب ماوراء النهر برد تا عاقبت شیخ احمد کهتو که روضهٔ او در سرخیز گجرات قریب احمدآباد مشهور است همراه آن لشکر رفته صاحب قرانی را دیده حالت درویشی و فضیلت علم خود را ظاهر ساخت و با علما و فضلای عسکر ماوراء النهر بحثها کرده الزام داد و شفاعت اسیران نمود و صاحبقرانی را نسبت باو اعتقاد تمام پیدا شد و ملتمس او را قبول کرده همه بندیها را خلاص داد which means that on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners, and took them all off towards Transoxiana Eventually Sheikh Ahmad Kathū whose tomb is well known at Sar Khez in Gujarāt near Ahmadābād went along with the army, and had an interview with the great Taimūr and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvesh and the greatness of his learning and he had many discussions with the learned men accompanying the Transoxianan army and confuted them and interceded for the prisoners, and the great Taimūr became a firm believer in him, and accepting his representations he released all the prisoners.

some days Khizr Khān who had escaped into Miwāt asked for safe conduct and came with Bahādur Nāhir, and Mubārak Khān and Vazīr Khān and rendered homage to Taimūr The latter ordered all of them, except Khizr Khān, [1]whom he knew to be a Saiyad and a pious man, to be taken prisoner, and raising his standards for the return journey started by a route along the foot-hills, and the [2]heights of the country at the foot of the Sivalik hills were rendered low by the trampling of the feet of the victorious army

When he reached Lahore he by means of a stratagem seized Sheikhā Khokar (who had on account of the enmity which he bore to Sārang Khān had entered the service of Taimūr, and had become his guide and well wisher, and had by means of fraud taken possession of Lahore) with all his family and adherents, and pillaged and sacked Lahore He made over Multān and Dibālpur to Khizr Khān and marched away to Samarkand by way of Kabul

For two months Dehli [3]was in ruins In the month of Rajab of the aforementioned year, Nasrat Shāh, who after watching Iqbāl Khān, had gone into the Doāb, went with a small force to Mīrāt, and Ādil Khān with his own troops and four elephants joined him, and the men who escaping from the Mughals were in the Doāb also joined him And he came to Firozābād with two thousand horsemen, and took possession of Dehli which was still in ruins Shahāb Khān came from Miwāt with ten elephants and a well-equipped army, Malik [4]Almās came from the Doāb When the forces increased in number Nasrat Shāh sent Shahāb Khān against Iqbāl Khān who was in Baran On the way some zamindārs at the instigation of Iqbāl Khān made a surprise attack by night, and Shahāb Khān becoming a martyr, his forces were scattered, and his equipage and elephants fell into the hands of Iqbāl Khān The latter gained strength and

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[1] Badāoni says he spared Khizr Khān because the latter داشت طاهرا سابقه حدمتی which Col Ranking translates who had apparently done some former good service

[2] Badāoni compares the effect of the march of the army to that of an earthquake

[3] Badāoni says there was a famine and pestilence and the inhabitants who were left died

[4] Some of the MSS have ملک الداس Malik Ilyās

power day by day, turned towards Dehli and Nasrat Shāh, being unable to meet him left Firozābād and retired into [1]Miwāt, and Dehlī came into the possession of Iqbāl Khān. The people who for fear of the Mughal had left Dehli and gone to various places, came back within a short time, and Hisār Sīrī again became populous

Iqbāl Khān was in possession of the country of the Doāb, and the environments of the city, and the whole country of India remained in the possession of [2]different nobles Gujrāt was in the possession of Zafar Khān and his son Tātār Khān Saiyad Khizr Khān had Multān and Dibālpur with parts of Sind Mahoba and Kālpī were in the hands of Mahmud Khān, son of Malikzādah Firoz Khwājah Jahān Sulṭān-ush-Sharq was in possession of Kanouj and Oudh and Dalmau, and Sandīla, and Bahrāich, and Behār and Jaunpur, Dilāwar Khān had Mālwa, and Ghālib Khān had Sāmānah, and Shams Khān Auhadī had Biānah, and each one of them aspired to be independent and none of them owned submission to any one else

In the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal 802 A H (1399 A D) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Biānah and Shams Khān came and [3]opposed him, but being defeated retired into the fort of Biānah and [4]his elephants fell into (Iqbāl Khān's) hands He then marched towards Kaithar which is the well known country round Badāūn, and after levying tribute from Rāy [5]Narsingh returned towards Dehli The same year Khwājah-i-Jahān [6]died in Jaunpur and Malik Mubārak

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[1] Badāoni says و در همانجا بملک بقا شتافت , and there he hastened to the permanent home, i e died

[2] Col Ranking says (see note 2, p 359 of his translation of Badāonī, vol I) "Ferishtah tells us the names of these various independent rulers " He apparently did not know that they were also given in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī

[3] Badāonī says the engagement between them took place at نوح و پتل Nuh wa Patal

[4] The lith edn and most of the MSS have و پیل او بدست افتاد One MS has و دو فیل او بدست افتاد

[5] The name is given as Nar Singh or Bar Singh in the lith edn and the MSS Badāonī calls him Harsinghrāi or Rāy Harsingh He was the chief of Itāwah

[6] Or as Badāonī in his poetical and pious languages says برحمت حق پیوست , i e united with the mercy of God

[1]Qaranful who was his adopted son was made Sulṭān in his place, and received the title of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh and the territories of Khwājah-i-Jahān came into his possession

In the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal in the year 803 A H (1400 A D) Iqbāl Khān marched against Mubārak Shāh Sharqi, and Shams Khān, Governor of Biānah, and [2]Mubārak Khān and Bahādur Nāhir accompanied him as his allies, and when they reached the town of [3]Baitali on the back of the Ganges, Rāy Sīr and all the zamindārs of that country came forward and after a conflict were routed and retired to Itāwah, and Iqbāl Khān went to Kanouj Mubārak Shāh now came forward and for two months they opposed each other on the bank of the river Ganges At last they came to terms and returned On the way Iqbāl Khān became suspicious of Mubārak Khān, and Shams Khān Auhadi and seized them both by fraud and treachery, and put them to death The same year Taghī Khān Turkbacha, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān, the Governor of Sāmānah with a large army attacked Khizr Khān, and on the 9th of the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year the parties met at Ajodhan which is celebrated as the Patan of Sheikh Farīd, and after a conflict and battle Taghī Khān was routed and retired to the town of [4]Bhaudar Ghālib Khān and other Amīrs who were with him seized Taghī Khān and put him to death And in the year 804 A H (1401 A D) Sulṭān Mahmud who for fear of Taimūr, had retired to Gujrāt, and after the departure of the latter had come to Dhār and stayed there, after the

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[1] Badāoni calls him Qaranqal The lith edn and the majority of the MSS give him the name I have adopted Col Ranking in a note says he was Khwājah-i-Jahān's adopted son Malik Wāsil

[2] Badāonī calls Mubārak Khān (who is of course to be distinguished from Mubārak Shāh Sharqī) the son of Bahādur Nāhir, مبارک خان بن بهادر ناهر in the Persian text, but neither the lith edn nor any of the MSS of the Ṭabakāt says that they were related in this way

[3] Badāonī says that the town was on the Black water کنار آب سیاه که بکالا پانی پانی مشهور است Col Ranking says in a note that the Kālāpāni is the Kālinadi or Kālini (Hunter Imp Gaz VII, p 327) lying between the Jumna and the Ganges Taimūr calls it the Karāsû (Blackwater) Elliot 14, p 452 Ferishtah, however, says که کنار نهر گنگ است, which Briggs translates which is on the Ganges

[4] The name is variously given in the lith edn and in the MSS as بهود, بهزدر, Badāonī Persian text has بهوهر Col Ranking has Bhūhar

restoration of safety came back from Dhār to Dehli Iqbāl went forward to welcome him and placed him in the Humāyun palace in [1]Jahānpanāh But as the reins of the sovereignty and rule were in his hands he behaved with hypocrisy towards the Sulṭān. The latter taking Iqbāl Khān with him started towards Kanouj; and while they were on their way, news came that Mubārak Shāh Sharqī had died and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm his brother had taken his place Sulṭān Mahmud having resolved to seize Jaunpur made an attempt to do so Sulṭān Ibrāhīm also with a well equipped army and elephants of the size of mountains came forward and opposed him, and for a few days brave warriors belonging to the two armies fought together As Sulṭān Mahmud had great [2]suspicion and fear of Iqbāl Khān, and considered Sulṭān Ibrāhīm to be his servant and born and bred in his family, [3]one night he left his own army and alone and unattended went to Sultān Ibrāhīm's army, and as the latter on account of his want of breeding and ingratitude did not perform the rites of hospitality and service, Sulṭān Mahmud did not stay there also on account of the incivility he was treated with, and came to Kanouj, and having expelled [4]Shah Zādah Hariwi who was the governor under the Sharqia kingdom, took possession of the city Iqbāl Khān went away towards Dehli and Sultān Ibrāhīm also returned to Jaunpur All the inhabitants of Kanouj, high and low, joined Sultān Mahmud, and the slaves and all his adherents who had become scattered came from all places, and he contented himself with Kanouj

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[1] The lith edn has حهانمای, all the MSS have جهانپناه Badāonī has کوشک حهان نما

[2] Badāonī says, Sulṭān Mahmud had hostility to Iqbāl Khān in his heart کنده اورا در دل داشته on account of his being, in possession of the paraphernalia of sovereignty, اسباب سلطنت

[3] Badāonī has a different account, he says سلطان محمود پیش از شروع در جنگ و جدال به بهانه شکار از لشکر اقبال خان در آمده با سلطان ابراهیم ملاقات کرد و سلطان ابراهیم با او ناستعدادیش آمد, i e and Sulṭān Mahmud before the commencement of conflict and war left the army of Iqbāl Khān on the pretext of going on a hunting excursion and went and met Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and the latter treated him with great discourtesy

[4] The name is given in the lith edn and in the MSS as سر بردی, دسر بری, هر بدی and هردوی Badāonī calls him فتح خان هروی and Col Ranking Fateh Khān of Herat

In the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal 805 A H (1402 A D) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gwālior, and [1](besieged) the fort of Gwālior which at the time of the arrival of the army of Taimūr had gone out of the possession of the Sultāns of Dehli and had come into the hands of Rāy Narsingh, and after his death into those of his son Bīram Deo, but as it was extremely strong he could not take it, so he devastated the districts round it and went back to Dehli The next year he again marched to Gwālior Bīram Deo came forward to meet him, and fought a battle in front of the fort of Dholpur but was defeated and retired into the fort When night came he vacated the fort and went towards Gwālior Iqbāl Khān pursued him as far as the fort of Gwālior, and having carried out the procedure of pillage and destruction, came back to Dehli

In the year 806 A H (1403 A D) news came that Tātār Khān the son of Zafar Khān, Governor of Gujrāt, had removed his father from Amīrship and his government, and had given himself the title of [2]Nāsiruddīn Muhammad Shāh

In the year 807 A H (1404 A D) Iqbāl Khān marched out to subdue the zamindārs of the country of Itāwah, and [3]Rāy Sarwar and the Rāy of Gwālior and Rāy Jālhār and other Rāys fortified themselves in Itāwah, and for four months carried on a warfare, but in the end made peace, agreeing to give every year four elephants and the amount which the Rāy of Gwālior used to send to the ruler of Dehli In the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year, Iqbāl Khān went to Kanouj and besieged Sultān Mahmud and although he fought many engagements, he gained nothing, and had to return without achieving his object And in the month of Muharram 808 A H

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[1] The sentence appears to me to be incomplete in the lith edn and in all the MSS I have ventured to insert the words محاصرہ کرد (besieged) in order to complete it The names of Nar Singh and Bīram are Bar Singh and Nar Singh and Bīram and Param in the different MSS The name of Narsingh is given as Harsingh in one place and as Barsingh in the next line in the Persian text of Badāoni, who also says that Harsingh had seized the fort by treachery, بغدر

[2] Badāoni adds that he was marching towards Dehli to seize it but his uncle Shams Khān gave him poison and then released Zafar Khān from imprisonment

[3] These names are all very doubtful The lith edn and the MSS give different names more or less difficult to decipher Badāoni does not give any names

(1405 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Sāmānah Bahrām Khān Turkbacha, who had become hostile to Sārang Khān, abandoned his place for fear of Iqbāl Khān, and retired to the hill of Badhnor. Iqbāl Khān pursued him and encamped near a valley of that hill After a few days Sheikh[1] 'Ilm-ud-dīn, grandson of Sheikh Jalāl Bakhārī, intervened and made peace between them Iqbāl Khān took Bahrām Khān with him and marched towards Multān When he arrived at Talwandī [2]he seized and imprisoned Rāy Dāud and Kamāl Mūīn and Rāy Bhau, son of Rāy Khaljīn Behtı, and on the third day he broke the terms of peace and had Bahrām Khān flayed When he encamped near [3]Ajodhan on the bank of the river [4]Dehenda, Khızr Khān came from Dibālpur and opposed him with the determination of giving him battle, and on the 19th Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year a battle took place and in the first onset [5]Iqbāl Khān fell into the hands of Khızr Khān's soldiers and was put to death, and the reward of his base ingratitude and of his repeated breaches of faith was quickly allotted to him

Couplet

Be not bold in breaking faith, for the revolving heavens
Will quickly place the reward of your deeds in your lap

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[1] Badāoni says he went from Multān to Rupār (43 miles N of Ambāla city) and there seized Bahrām Khān and flayed his head

[2] There are as usual doubts about these names Kamāl or Kamāluddīn Mūīn is called Kamāluddin Mūbīn by Bahāoni, and he is the only Rāy mentioned by name by him According to him Iqbāl Khān met the Rāys after he had flayed the head of Bahrām Khān, and he did not imprison them, but took them with him when he went to attack Khızr Khān Rāy Khaljin Behtı is elsewhere called Rāy Dulchain His son's name appears as بهر , هدو and بهبر in the lith edn and the MSS

[3] Ajodhan is as I have already noted the modern Pākpattan or Pattan-i-Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar Col Ranking has a rather long note in p 362, vol I of his translation of Badāoni He has translated Pākpattan is the ferry of the pure Pattan may however mean city as in the names of many places in S India (Sans पत्तनम्)

[4] Dehenda is a stream which leaves the main stream of the Satlej to the east of Ajodhan flowing S.-W., and joins it again about 35 miles lower down See note 3 in the same page of Col Ranking's translation of Badāoni

[5] Badāoni says his horse was wounded and could not bear him off the field and he was pursued and his head was cut off

When this news reached Dehli, Doulat Khān and Ikhtyār Khān and other Amīrs who were there summoned Mahmud Shāh from Kanouj, and in the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year, Mahmud Shāh came to Dehli and, again sat on the throne, and the family and children and relations and dependants of Iqbāl Khān were expelled from Dehli and sent to Kol, but none of them was injured in any way. The Foujdārī of the Doāb was entrusted to Doulat Khān, and Firozābād was placed in charge of Ikhtyār Khān At this time Aqlīm Khān and Bahādur Nāhir each brought two elephants as tribute, and rendered homage

Sulṭān Mahmud, after achieving success and gaining his object, in the year 809 A H (1406 A D) raised his standard and marched towards Jaunpur with the object of avenging the insult with which he had been treated, and he sent Doulat Khān with a large army against [1]Bīram Khān Turkbacha, who after Bahrām Khān Turkbacha had been slain had taken possession of Sāmānah When Mahmud Shāh reached the neighbourhood of Kanouj, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm came to oppose him from Jaunpur, and the two armies encamped in front of each other on the bank of the river Ganges, and for some days battle raged furiously But in the end, by the exertions of the amīrs, peace was concluded Each one went back to his own place.

After their return, Sulṭān Ibrahīm Shāh being under the impression that most of Sultān Mahmud's amīrs and soldiers had at this time become scattered, and knowing it to be a good opportunity, came to Kanouj Malik Mahmud Tarmati who was the Governor of Kanouj on behalf of Sulṭān Mahmud remained in the fort and fought for four months, but when he became despondent of help and reinforcement from Sulṭān Mahmud begged for safety, from Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and handed Kanouj over to him Sulṭān Ibrāhīm placed Kanouj in charge of Ikhtyār Khān, grandson of [2]Malik Doulatyār Kambala, and spent the rainy season there

And in the year 810 A H (1407 A D)[3] Nasrat Khān Karkāndāz,

[1] Badāoni does not mention him at all, or the expedition against him

[2] The lith edn and all the MSS have ملک دولت یار کنبله Badāonī's Persian text has ملک دولت یار کمپیله and the English translation Malik Doulatyār of Kampila

[3] In the Persian text of Badāonī he is called نصرت خان گرگانداز Nasrat Khān the wolfslayer, but in the English Translation it is Karkāndāz

and Tātār K̲h̲ān, son of Sārang K̲h̲ān, and Malik Marhabā a slave of Iqbāl K̲h̲ān separated themselves from Mahmud Sh̲āh and went over to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm The latter went from there (Kanouj) and went to [1]Sambal Āsad K̲h̲ān Lodī who was the agent of Sulṭān Mahmud, after two days, handed over the fortress of Sambal to him without any struggle Sulṭān Ibrāhīm entrusted that place to Tātār K̲h̲ān, and turned towards Dehli When he arrived on the bank of the [2]Jumna, and was about to cross it, news came that Zafar K̲h̲ān, the ruler of Gujrāt, had conquered the country of Mālwa, and[3] Ālap K̲h̲ān, son of Dilāwar K̲h̲ān, who had assumed the title of Sulṭān Hoshang, was a prisoner in his hand [4] Immediately on (receipt of) this news, he turned back and went to Jaunpur

In the month of Ziqādah of the aforesaid year Sulṭān Mahmud marched to the town of Baran to attack Malik Marhabā, who had been appointed to be governor of that place by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm He came out of the fort to give battle, but in the first onset was defeated, and retreated into the fort The troops of Mahmud Sh̲āh pursued him and entered the fort, and slew him Mahmud Sh̲āh then marched to Sambal Tātār K̲h̲ān did not fight, but leaving Sambal fled to Kanouj, and Mahmud Sh̲āh left Āsad K̲h̲ān Lodī at Sambal and went back to Dehli

On the[6] 5th Rajab 809 A H (1406 A D) there was a battle

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[1] In Rohilkhand

[2] Badāonī adds گذر کدچه در حوالی دهلي, which Col Ranking translates near the fort of Kicha in the vicinity of Dehli Fort is evidently a misprint for ford

[3] The name is given variously in the lith edn and in the MSS as الب ، الپ and الف The fact of his being taken prisoner is not mentioned by Badāonī who says ظفر خان عرصه دهار را تسخیر نموده قصد جونپور دارد و سلطان ابراهیم بکوچ متواتر خود را بجونپور رسانید

[4] The lith edn and all the MSS have بمجرد این خبر without any word like رسیدن or آمدن

[5] Badāonī has سلطان محمود سنبل را بی جنگ فتح نموده بدستور سابق باسد خان گذاشت Col Ranking translates this, Sulṭān Mahmud taking Sambal without a fight left there Bāsad K̲h̲ān after his usual custom, instead of saying left it as before in charge of Āsad K̲h̲ān

[6] We have already had an account of events occurring in 810 but we are now having an account of some events of the preceding year The lith and some of the

between Daulat Khān and Bīram Khān Turkbacha at a distance of two *Karohs* from Sāmānah, and Bīram Khān was defeated and going to [1] Sirhind entrenched himself there, and at last begging for quarter saw Daulat Khān As Bīram Khān had before this sworn allegiance to Khizr Khān, and afterwards broken faith with him, Khizr Khān collected a force and attacked Daulat Khān The latter unable to oppose him crossed the river Jumna All the Amīrs who had joined him, now left him and came to Khizr Khān (The latter) made over Hīsār Firozā to Qawām Khān He took Sāmānah and Sunām from Bīram Khān and made them over to Zīrak Khān and entrusted Sirhind with a few other parganās to Bīram Khān, and himself returned towards Fatehpur At this time only the Doāb and Rohtak remained in the possession of Sultān Mahmūd

In the year 811 A H (1408 A D) Sultān Mahmūd marched against Qawām Khān and the latter took shelter in Hisār Firozā, and after some days sent his son with a large tribute to the Sultān, and made his excuses, and the Sultān returning from there went to Dehli Khizr Khān hearing this news came to Fatehābād, and harassed the people of the place, who had joined with Mahmūd Shāh, and appointed Malik Tuhfa to overrun the Doāb, and [2]Dehātarat which had been in the possession of the Sultān [3]Fateh Khān marching from Dehātarat went towards the Doāb, and some people who had remained in Dehātarat were taken prisoner and Khizr Khān came from Rohtak to Dehli Mahmūd Shāh, getting into Firozābād, gained some strength, and after besieging the citadel of Firozābād returned to Fatehpur without achieving his object

MSS have no date though they have the word بتاریخ Two MSS have پنجم, 5th

[1] It is called سهرهند , هرهند and شهربرهند

[2] It is difficult to make out this name The lith edn has دهاترب and the MSS have دهالوت, دهادرته and دهاترت Badāonī in his account of the events of this year i e 811 A H says Sultān Mahmūd having taken Hisār Firozā from Qawām Khān دهات رتـه رسیده بدهلی عود کرد which Col Ranking has translated "on arriving at the village of Rata returned to Dehli" دهادرته is, therefore, دهات رته or as one MS of Badāonī has دهات رنه but I cannot say where Rata or Rana was

[3] The lith edn and the MSS all say Fateh Khān but it does not appear who he was The name may be a mistake for Khizr Khān.

And in the year 812 A H (1409 A D) Biram Khān, becoming hostile to Khizr Khān, went to Daulat Khān, and sent his family and dependants to the hilly country When Khizr Khān pursuing him arrived on the bank of the river Jumna, he became repentant and again went back with humility into the service of Khizr Khān, and the parganās which were formerly his jāgīr were confirmed to him Khizr Khān returning from there came to Fatehpur

In the year 813 A H (1410 A D) Khizr Khān marched to attack Malik Idris who was governor of Rohtak on the side of Mahmūd Shāh, and the latter took shelter in the fort of Rohtak, and went on fighting for a period of six months, but at last feeling his weakness sent his son as a hostage, and sending large sums as tribute did homage Khizr Khān then went to Fatehpur by the way of Sāmānah After the return of Khizr Khān, Mahmūd Shāh came back to Dehli, after[1] hunting in Kaithal, and[2] in these circumstances occupied himself with play and amusement

And in the year 814 A H (1411 A D) Khizr Khān marched towards Rohtak which was among the countries in the possession of Mahmūd Shāh Malik Idris and Mubāriz Khān, his brother, went forward to welcome him, and rendered homage to him at Hānsī Khizr Khān made their hearts glad by shewing them great kindness and favour, and after that pillaged the town of Nārnoul which was held by Aqlīm Khān and Bahādur Nāhīr, and then went to Dehli and besieged the citadel of Sīrī Mahmūd Shāh took shelter in the citadel and made dying efforts, and Ikhtiyār Khān who was his governor in Firozābād joined the service of Khizr Khān The latter then marched from before the gate of the citadel of Sīrī and alighted in the palace of Firozābād, and took possession of the towns of the Doāb and the environs of the capital But on account of the dearth of grain and fodder abandoned the siege, and went by the way of Pānīpat in the year 815 A D (1412 A D) to Fatehpur And in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year, Mahmūd Shāh went towards Kaithal on a hunting excursion, and returned to Dehli, and on the way in the month of Ziqādah of the same year he fell ill, and in the course of the

[1] Badāonī mentions the expedition to Kaithar (same as Kaithal) but he does not say what the object of the expedition was

[2] i e I suppose in spite of his enemy being at his door

month died From that date the sovereignty passed from the dynasty of Firoz Shāh The reign of Sultān Mahmūd, Shāh, son of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh, son of Firoz Shāh which was nothing but a name extended to twenty years and two months

After that, for two months, there was great disturbance in Dehli The Amīrs of Sulṭān Mahmūd Shāh did homage to Daulat Khān Malik Idris and Mubāriz Khān, turning from Khizr Khān joined Daulat Khān Khizr Khān passed away this year in Fatehpur In the month of Muharram 816 A H (1414 A D) Daulat Khān marched towards Kaithar, Rāy Narsingh and other Rāys came and did him service When he arrived in the town of Patiāli [1]Mahābat Khān Badāonī came to his service At this time news came that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had besieged Qādir Khān, son of Mahmūd Khān, at Kālpi and Daulat Khān did not have such a force that he could match himself against[2] Sultān Ibrāhīm, so he turned back and came to Dehli In the month of Ramazān of that year, Khizr Khān turned towards Dehli and when he arrived at Hisār Firozā, the Amīrs of that country came to render him service, and became his well wishers Malik Idris remained in the fort of Rohtak Khizr Khān did not interfere with him, and leaving that place went to Miwāt Jalāl Khān, nephew of Bahādur Nāhir there came to do him service [3]From that place he went to the town of Sambal and after pillaging and devastating the place, came again to Dehli in the month of Zihijjeh of that year, and encamped before the gate of Sīrī, and Daulat Khān defended the place for four months At last Malik [4]Yūnān and other supporters of Khizr Khān, seized the gate of the[5] Butkhānah by stratagem , and Daulat Khān finding that things had passed beyond his power, had out of necessity to ask for quarter, and came and saw Khizr Khān The latter placed him in charge of Qawām Khān, and

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[1] Badāoni calls him the Wālī of Badāun

[2] Two of the MSS have Sharq after Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's name

[3] The lith edn and one MS has وارابعا درکشته

[4] This name is very variously given The lith edn has توبان and the MSS have يوبان and مربا and دوبا Badāoni has لوبا , I ūnā

[5] The lith edn has دروازه دولت خانرا the gate of Daulat Khān which is of course incorrect The MSS have دروازه بتخانه, except one which has خانه دروازه دولت

ordered that he should be kept under imprisonment in Hisār Firozā, and this happened in the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal [1]817 A H (1415 A D)

[2]RĀYĀT 'ĀLĪ KHIZR KHĀN, SON OF MALIK SULEMĀN

It is related that Malik Marwān Daulat who was one of the Amīrs of Sultān Firoz Shāh had adopted Malik Sulemān, the father of Khizr Khān, in his childhood and had brought him up, and it is correctly related that Amīr Marwān Daulat had Amīr Jalāl Bukhārī, may his tomb remain holy, as a guest, and at the time of beginning, their repast Malik Sulemān was employed by order of Malik Marwān Daulat in washing the hands of the assembled guests Saiyad Jalāl declared that this service was not proper for the young Saiyad-zādāh, and from the words of Mir Saiyad Jalāl the fact of Malik Sulemān's lineage was verified Khizr Khān was a young man, pious, truthful, of amiable manners, and of pure morals, and the purity of his belief, and the greatness of his position are proofs of his noble lineage

Couplet

Although from training come actions good, but
Praiseworthy qualities from noble lineage spring.

In short in the time of Sultān Firoz Shāh, Malik Marwān Daulat was in charge of Multān, and after his death Malik Sheikh held charge, and after a short time died Then Sultān Firoz Shāh made Multān over to Khizr Khān, and from that time Khizr Khān became one of the great Amīrs, and even before he took possession of Dehli, he had carried on great wars, and obtained great victories, as has been narrated On the[3] 15th of the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal 817 A H

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[1] The lith edn has سنه عشر و ثمانمائة year 810 A H which is certainly incorrect All the MSS have سنه سبع و عشر و ثمانمائة year 817 A H Badāoni has سنه ستة و عشر ثمانمائه year 816 A H He also gives the date of the month, 17th

[2] That is the heading of the lith edn and most of the MSS One MS has سلطان خضر خان Badāoni has مسند علي خضر خان بن ملک اشرف بن ملک سلیمان Although in the heading Khizr Khān is said to be the son of Malik Ashraf, the latter is not mentioned at all later on

[3] Badāoni says he took possession of Dehlī on the 17th Rabī'-ul-āwwal of 816 A H, but the lith edn and all the MSS of the Tabakāt give the date and year given in the text

(1415 A D) he took possession of Dehli and although he possessed the status of sovereignty and the paraphernalia of royalty he never gave himself the title of Bādshāh, but assumed the title of Rāyāt-i-'ālī, and had the name of Amīr Taimūr in the coin and in the public prayer in the early part of his reign, and later that of Mirzā Shāh Rukh, and in the end, the name of Khizr Khān was inserted in the coin and in the public prayer

He conferred the title of Tāj-ul-Mulk on [1]Malik Tuhfa and made him the *Vazīr*, gave the province of Sahāranpur to Saiyad Sālim, and Multān and Fatehpur to Malik 'Abd-ur-Rahīm, adopted son of Malik Sulemān, on whom he conferred the title of 'Ala-ul-Mulk He made Malik Sarwai the *Shahna* (superintendent) of the city, Malik Khair-ud-dīn Khānī the paymaster of the forces, Malik Kālū the superintendent of the elephants and Malik Dā'ud the secretary. He appointed Ikhtiyār Khān to the government of the Doāb, and confirming to all the Khānazādas of Sultān Mahmūd such stipends and gratuities as they had, sent them to their jāigīrs

In the same year he sent Tāj-ul-Mulk with a large army towards Bādaūn and Kaithar so that he might punish the rebels of that country and make them (peaceful) rāiyats Tāj-ul-Mulk crossed the Jumna and the[2] Ganges, and arriving in Kaithar severely punished the zamindārs of that country Rāy[3] Narsingh fled and took shelter in the [4]Valley of Ānūla and when he was reduced to great straits, he humbly paid revenue and became a rāyat, and Mahābat Khān, the Governor of Badāun, also came in and rendered service From that place[5] (Tāj-ul-Mulk) marched along the bank of the Rahab came to

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[1] Badāoni calls him Malik Nahr but one MS has Tuhfa The lith edn of the Tabakāt has نحر and one MS تحر but the other MSS have تحفه

[2] Badāonī says he crossed the Ganges at the ford of Pirāhā

[3] Badāoni as before calls him Rāi Harsingh, so does the lith edn of the Tabakāt, but two of the MSS have Narsingh, one Barsingh and one Bīr Singh

[4] The lith edn and most of the MSS have در دره انوله One MS has در دره انول Badāonī's Persian text has در جنگل انوله پناه برده, i e took shelter in the jungle of Ānūla, but in the English translation it is "in the forests of that country," and in a note it is said that one MS has در جنگل انولاس انوله seems to have been converted to انولاس

[5] Badāonī says that Tāj-ul-Mulk and Mahābat Khān marched along the Rahab

the ford of Sargadwārī and crossing the river Ganges, punished the Kafirs of Kahwar which is now known as [1]Shamsābād and [2]Kambala marched to the town of Bādham by way of the town of [3]Sakīt Hasan Khān, ruler of [4]Rāpari, and [5]Hamza, his brother, came and saw him, and Rāy [6]Sar also becoming humble and submissive came and did service, and the Rājās of [7]Gwālior [8]Rabri and Chandwār also paid revenue He took the town of Jalesar from the possession of the Rājputs of Chandwār, and made it over to the Musalmāns who had formerly held it, and appointed a superintendent of it, and marching thence to the country of Gwālior pillaged and devastated it, and took from the Rāy the annual tribute which had been fixed before, and from there went to Chandwār and taking revenue from Narsingh zamindār of Kambala and Batiāli, crossed the river Jumna near Chandwār, and so returned to Dehli

In the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal news came that a [9]horde of

In the Ṭabakāt, neither the lith edn nor any of the MSS says distinctly who did so, but of course Tāj-ul-Mulk is understood

[1] Shamsābād is a town in Farrukhābād district, N -W P, situated on the S bank of the Buriganga, 18 miles N -W of Fategarh Hunter Gaz Ind vol II p 375

[2] Badāoni has Kampila The lith edn of the Tabakāt has كنبله and the MSS have كنله and كنبله.

[3] Sakīt is on the direct route between Kampila and Rāpari, 12 miles S -E of Etah town See note 4, p 377 of Col Ranking's translation of Badāonī

[4] Rāpari is a village with ruins 44 miles S -W of Mainpūri town See note 5, p 377 of the Eng trans of Badāoni

[5] He is turned into Hamra in the Eng translation, though he is Hamza right enough in the Persian text of Badāonī

[6] He is called Rāi Sar in Badāonī The lith edn of the Ṭabakāt has سرور but the MSS سر except one which has سدر

[7] The readings vary, the lith edn has راجه گوالیار و سرور چندوار سدر, and one MS has راجه گوالدار و سودی و ربری و چند وار two سوهی گواکدار راجه, Badāoni has رای سر حا کم چند وار با کفار گوالیار همه آمده چند وار

[8] Rabri is written differently from Rāpari above

[9] The author of the Tabakāt has omitted to mention that Khizr Khān took away the territory of Firozpur and Sirhind from Bīram Khān and made them over to Saiyad Khizr Khān the younger son of Malik Mubārak and the latter appointed Malik Sudhu Nāhir to be his Nāib This is narrated by Badāonī, who, however calls Sudhu Nāhir سدهو نادره Shāhzada Mubārak Khān of the text is, according to Badāonī, Saiyad Khizr Khān the younger son of Malik Mubārak

Turks of the tribe of Bīram Khān Turkbacha had taken possession of the fort of Sirhind, after treacherously slaying Malik Sudhu Nāhir who had been appointed Governor of that place on behalf of Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān Khizr Khān sent Zīrak Khān with a large army against them The Turks crossed the river Satlad (Sutlej) and went into the hilly country Zīrak Khān pursued them there, and for two months tried his best, but had to return without attaining his object

And in the month of Rajab of the same year Sultān Āhmad Gujrātī besieged the fort of [1]Nāgor Khizr Khān started for the place by way of Tūdah in order to suppress this disturbance Sulṭān Āhmad returned to his own kingdom without meeting him in battle Khizr Khān turning back went to the city of [2]Nau-urus-Jahān, which was among those founded by Sulṭān 'Alauddīn Khilji Ilyās, the Governor of that city came and saw him The Sulṭān after punishing the disturbers of peace of that country turned towards Gwālior As it was difficult to capture the fort, he took the revenue which was fixed, from the Rāy, and marched to Biānah, and levied tribute from Shams Khān Auhadi the Governor, and then returned to Dehli

And in the year 820 A H (1417 A D) news came of the [3]rebellion of Tūghān and some Turks who had killed Malik Sudhu Zirak Khān

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[1] Nāgor is in Jodhpur State, Rājputanā, 48 miles N-W of Nasirābād and 75 miles N-E of Jodhpur city In Briggs' translation of Ferishtah (I 507) it is changed into Bāgor

[2] There is considerable difficulty about this name The lith edn and most of the MSS read شهر نوعر وس جهاین One MS has شهر نوعروس جهان I consider this last the correct reading, the meaning being the city (called, the new bride of the earth,) if جهان is read as جهاس or جهادن as in different MSS of Badāoni or as Jalwār or Jāvijūr as in Ferishtah then the phrase شهر نو عروس is meaningless, whereas نو عروس جهان although poetic and bombastic has a very clear meaning It is the separation of Jahān from Nau-urus and the attempt to make Jahān the name of some city which has been the cause of all the confusion It is true that Badāoni has not got شهر نو عروس but Ferishtah has See note 2, p 379 of Ranking's trans of Badāoni, vol I

[3] Badāoni does not give any of the details He only says و در سنه عشرین و ثمانمائه (۸۲۰) توغان رئیس و جماعه از که قاتلان ملک سدهو بودند خروج کردند وزیرک خان بار نامزد شد وان جماعه را متفرق گردانید

the Governor of Sāmānah was appointed to attack them; when he came near [1]Sāmānah the rebels abandoned (the siege of) the fort of Sirhind, and returned to the hills Malik Kamāl Budhan who had been beleaguered in the fort, having obtained his release came to do service to Zīrak Khān The latter pursuing the enemy reached the town of Pāel Tūghān, who was the leader of the Turks, made his submission, agreed to pay tribute, and gave his son as hostage, and separated the Turks who had slain Malik Sudhu from himself Zīrak Khān returned towards Sāmānah and sent the tribute and Tūghān's son to Khizr Khān

In the year 821 A H (1418 A D) Khizr Khān sent Tāj-ul-Mulk to attack Rāy Narsingh, the Rājā of Kaithar When the army crossed the Ganges, Narsingh vacating the country returned to the jungle of [2]Ānulā, and after some struggles under the shelter of the forest was routed, his horses, and arms, and all equipage were seized, and some troops, having pursued him to the mountains of Kamāūn, acquired much booty and on the fifth day again joined the main army After that Tāj-ul-Mulk came to the bank of the river Ganges by way of Badāūn, and having crossed the river by the ford of Bajlāneh, he dismissed Mahābat Khān, the Governor of Badāūn, and advanced on Itāwah Rāy [3]Sar took shelter in the town Tāj-ul-Mulk plundered the country, but at last entered into an agreement and in the month of Rabī'-ul-ākhir of the same year returned to Dehli In the same year Khizr Khān marched out with the object of punishing the disturbers and insurgents of Kaithar He first punished the rebels of the country of Kol, and then crossing the river Rahab devastated Sambal He then, in the month of Zi-qādeh of the aforesaid year, moved in the direction of Badāūn, and crossed the river Ganges near Patiāli From these incidents Mahābat Khān's heart was panic-stricken He went

[1] The lith edn and all the MSS have Sāmānah and I have retained it in the text but I think the correct reading should be Sirhind Zīrak Khān would start from Sāmānah to go to Sirhind

[2] Badāonī here gives the correct name of the jungle, (and says that it has a circumference of 24 *karohs*) instead of, as in the narration of the events of a previous attack on the country, calling it the حدنگل الولاس Col Ranking has ānwla as the transliteration of اوله

[3] There is the usual variation about this name between سر and سرور and يسدر

to Badāūn and in the month of Zī-hijjeh he shut himself up in the fort, and six months were passed in battles and warfare. About this time some nobles such as Qawām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān and all the adherents of Mahmūd Shāh, who had separated from Daulat Khān and joined Khizr Khān, meditated treason against the latter. Khizr Khān became aware of this, abandoned the siege and turned towards Dehli, and in the course of the march on the bank of the Ganges on the 20th of the month of Jamādī-ul-âwwal of the year 822 A H (1418 A D) he put Qawām Khān, and Ikhtiyār Khān and the adherents of Mahmūd Shāh, and all the traitors to death and then arrived in Dehli

After a few days news came that a [1]man had got an idea of creating a disturbance into his head, and giving himself the name of Sārang Khān was collecting men in the hills of Bajwārah (Khizr Khān), conferred the government of Sirhind on [2]Malik Sulṭān Shāh Bahrāmi Lodi and appointed him to attack him Malik Sulṭān Shāh reached Sirhind in the month of Rajab of that year, and Sārang issuing from the hills came as far as the river Satlad The people of Rūpar joined him, and a battle took place in the neighbourhood of Sirhind Sārang was defeated and went towards the town of [3]Lahori, one of the dependencies of Sirhind Khwājeh Ali Indrāni, came with his forces and saw Sultān Shah, and [4]Zirak Khān, Governor of Sāmānah

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[1] Badāoni calls him مردی مجهولی, i e an obscure person, and as regards Sārang Khān he says که پیش ازین کشته شده بود who had before this been killed As regards the place he says در حدود بجواره in the limits of Bajwārah but Ferishtah has نزدیک ما حواره near Māchiwārah Māchiwārah according to the 'Aīn-i-Akbarī was situated on the bank of the Satlaj and in Rennel's map it is figured between Rūpar and Ludhiānah, and lies 23 miles S of the last named town and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata Bajwārah is further N near Hoshiārpur (see note 2, p 380, Col Ranking's trans of Badāoni, vol I)

[2] He is called in the Persian text of Badāoni سلطان شه لودي, but in the Eng. trans he is called Sulṭān Shāh Lodi

[3] That is the name in the lith edn and the MSS, Badāoni says گریخته بکوهستان در امد

[4] Badāoni does not mention the various leaders who with their forces were sent against the imposter Sārang Col Ranking makes some additions from Ferishtah who according to him says that Sulṭān Shāh Lodi was called Islām Khān and was the Governor of Sirhind He also adds that Islām Khān pursued Sārang Khān with

and Tūghān Turkbacha, Governor of Jalandhar, also came to Sirhind to help Sultān Shāh Sārang turning back went to Rūpar, and when the armies pursued him to that place he fled into the hilly country, and the troops halted there And in the meantime Malik Khairuddīn who had also been directed to attack Sārang came with a large force, and in the month of Ramazān of the aforesaid year reached Rūpar, and for some time they all remained in the hilly country, and when Sārang's followers became dispersed he with a few men concealed himself in the hills, and the armies returned Malik Khairuddīn turned his face towards the capital and Zīrak Khān went back to Sāmānah, while Sultān Shāh with his troops stationed himself at Rūpar At this time Sārang came out of the hills and in the month of Muharram 823 A H (1420 A D) joined Tūghān and the latter treacherously slew him During this time Khizr Khān was taking some rest in the capital and sent Tāj-ul-Mulk to subdue the zamindārs of Itāwah and its neighbourhood, and he marched to [1]Kol by way of Baran and exterminated the rebels of that country and having sacked Mouza Dahli, which was a place of great strength, went to Itāwah Rāy [2]Sai held out in Itāwah but in the end came to terms, and agreed to pay the revenue that had been fixed Tāj-ul-Mulk went to Chandwār and plundered and laid it waste and then went to Kaithar, and having taken tribute from Rāy Narsingh returned to the city And in the month of Rajab of the aforementioned year news came that [3]Tūghān Turkbacha had again shown hostility, and had besieged the fort of Sirhind, and had overrun the country up to the boundary of Mansurpur and Pāel Khizr Khān sent Khairuddīn against him,

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certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself See notes 3 and 4, p 380, vol I of his translation of Badāonī

[1] Badāonī does not mention these movements He contents himself with saying that Tāj-ul-Mulk was sent to Itāwah

[2] Written سررر in the lith edn and سر or سدر in the MSS In the Persian text of Badāonī he is رای سدر Rāy Sir but in the Eng trans he is changed into Rāi Sipar

[3] Bādaonī does not also give any details of Tūghān's rebellions and of the steps taken against him He only says و طوغان رئیس بار در شهرند فتنه انگیخته و ملک خیر الدین برو نامزد شد و شر او دفعه رسانیده باز آمد

and he arriving at Sāmānah in concert with Zīrak Khān pursued him. The latter crossing the Satlad near Ludhiānah came to the territory of Jasrath Khokhar Tūghān's *Jaigir* was then conferred on Zīrak Khān; and Malik Khairuddīn returned to Dehli

Khizr Khān placed the foot of determination in the stirrup of bravery in the year 824 A H (1421 A D) for the subjugation of the insurgents of Miwāt Some of them betook themselves in the fort of the Kotlah of Bahādur Nāhir, and some came and had interview with Khizr Khān When the fort was beleaguered the Miwātians came and opposed him, but in the first charge they fled and the Kotlah was seized The Miwātians retired to the hills Khizr Khān demolished the fort, and marched towards Gwālior On the 8th Muharram of that year Tāj-ul-Mulk died, and Sikandar, his eldest son, was made Vazīr and obtained the title of Malik-ush-Sharq The Rājā of Gwālior shut himself up in the fort, his territory was pillaged and (Khizr Khān) having also levied tribute from him, marched towards Itāwah Rāy Sar was[1] dead but his son did homage and agreed to pay tribute At this time Khizr Khān became ill and returned towards Dehli, and on the 17th of Jamādī-ul-āwwal 824 A H (1421 A D) he was united with the mercy of God The period of his reign was seven years and two months and two days [2]Many charities and benefactions came into existence from him and people who had during the disturbances caused by Taimūr's invasion had lost everything and been reduced to poverty during his auspicious days again became happy and prosperous

SULTĀN MUBĀRAK SHĀH, SON OF RĀYĀT 'ALĪ KHIZR KHĀN

When the illness of Khizr Khān became severe, three days before his death, he made Mubārak Khān his successor, and one day after his death Mubārak Khān with the consent of the amīrs sat on the throne of sovereignty and adopted the title of Mubārak Shāh He conferred on everyone of the amīrs and maliks and great men and Imāms who

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[1] Badāoni instead of our author's ودیت کرده بود, i e had died, has بدوزخ رفته بود had gone to hell

[2] Badāoni does not say anything about Khizr Khān's qualities and virtues Col Ranking quotes from Ferishtah that he was a just and wise King and his subjects loved him and mourned for him Note 2, p 381, vol I

had during the reign of Khizr Khān any stipend or gratuity from any [1]parganā or village the same stipends and increased them in some cases He transferred Firozābād and Hānsi from Malik Rajab Nādirah to his own nephew Malik Badah, and in place of these gave Dibālpur to Malik Rajab

At this time the news of the rebellion of [2]Sheikhā Khokhar and Tūghān Raīs came The reason of Sheikhā's revolt was this, that in the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal 823 A H (1420 A D) Sultān 'Ali the bādshāh of Kashmīr had come to Thatha When he was returning from Thatha, Sheikhā met him and engaged him in battle As the army of Sultān 'Ali was scattered about, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Sheikhā The latter's brain was deranged on account of the enormous plunder and the large quantity of riches he had got, and the thought of revolt entered his head He formed a resolution of seizing Dehli and the empire of Hindustān He overran the parganās in his vicinity and crossing the river Satlad, sacked the [3]Talwandi of Rāi Kamāl Mū'in Rāy Firoze, the Zamindār of that place, fled, and retired towards the Jumna Sheikha coming to the town of Ludhiāna, overran the country as far as the boundary of Rūpar, and afterwards crossing the Sutlej besieged the fort of Jālandhar Zīrak Khān, the Governor of the fort, shut himself up in it and gave battle Sheikhā proposing terms of peace required that Zīrak Khān should vacate the fort, and make it over to Tūghān who would send his son to do service to Mubārak Shāh and Sheikhā himself should also send tribute to the latter On the 2nd of Jamādī-ul-ākhir 824 A H (1421 A D), Zīrak Khān came out of the citadel of Jālandhar, and with [4]a group of the

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[1] The lith edn and some of the MSS have از پرگنهٔ اوده, i e from the parganās of Oudh, two MSS omit اوده, but one MS has پرگنه وده, i e from parganā and village This is clearly the correct reading and I have accepted it

[2] Badāoni says that it was Jasrat Khokar, the son of Sheikhā that raised the revolt Ferishtah also says that it was Jasrat but he says he was the brother of Sheikhā The lith edn and most of the MSS of the Tabakāt say that it was Sheikhā, but one MS says it was Sheikhā and Jasrat

[3] This agrees with Badāoni and Ferishtah Talwandi Col Ranking thinks is identical with Tulloom on the N bank of the Satlaj in Rennel's map 20 miles S S -W of Ludhiāna Rāy Kamāl Mū'in is Rāy Kamāluddin Mūbin of Badāoni

[4] The Readings of this sentence are various and doubtful What I have translated as with a group may be گروهي or be سه گروهی with three groups or دسر گروهی

army of Sheikhā encamped on the bank of the river Mū'īn On the following day Sheikhā broke the agreement and attacking Zīrak Khān made him prisoner, and raised the standard of hostility anew He crossed the Sutlej and came to Ludhiāna, and on the 20th Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year arrived in Sirhind Sultān Shāh Lodi, Governor of the place shut himself up in the fort, and as the rainy season had commenced Sheikhā although he tried hard could not take it

And in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year Sultān Mubārak Shāh marched out of the capital in spite of the rain, and advanced towards Sirhind When he arrived near Sāmānah Sheikhā went towards Ludhiānah Zīrak Khān joined Sultān Mubārak Shāh at Sāmānah, and the latter advanced to Ludhiānah Sheikhā crossing the Sutlej, encamped on the other side of the river opposite to the Sultān's army [1]As the river was broad, and all the boats had fallen into Sheikhā's hands, Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross it, and for forty days the two armies faced each other When Canopus rose and the river became narrower Mubārak Shāh marched along the river towards Qabulpur and Sheikhā also marching along his bank of the river, everyday, encamped opposite the Sulṭān's army, till on the 11th of the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year, the Sultān sent Malik Sikandar Tuhfah and Zīrak Khān, and Mahmūd Hasan, and Malik Kālū and other amīrs with a large army and six elephants higher up the river, so that on the following morning they might reach a ford and cross the river, and he himself made arrangements for doing so Sheikhā not having the

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with a leader The MSS which have دسه, with three, have the figure ۳ above the سه, so that there may be no doubt at all The name of the river or stream may be anything مدں men or مدٸں Mū'īn or هیں Hein Badāoni says دسرب کنار آب سرستي ورود آمد وسحں صلح و صلاح درمیان شد و بعدر زیرک خانرا مقید ساخت, i e Jasrat encamped on the bank of the Sarasvatī and there were words of peace and agreement and he treacherously made Zīrak Khān prisoner The river according to Badāoni is Sarasvatī but the word in the lith edn and in the MSS cannot be tortured into that

[1] Badāonī does not give all these details He only says و بعد از طلوع سهیل آب پایاب شد و سلطان از آب دریا عبره کرد و جسرت گریخت, i e and after the rising o Canopus the river became fordable and the Sultān crossed it and Jasrat fled

strength to oppose him fled towards Jālandhar and a large quantity of equipage, and wealth fell as booty into the hands of the Sultān's army, and a large number of Sheikhā's troops both cavalry and infantry were slain The Sulṭān's army pursued Sheikhā as far as the river [1]Chināb Sheikhā crossing the river got into the [2]mountains [3]Rāy Bhīm, Rājā of Jamūn, came to render service to the Sultān and guiding the troops took them across the Chināb to [4]Thīkah which was the strongest of Sheikhā's strongholds, and they laid it waste, and taking Sheikhā's followers who had been scattered among the mountains, prisoner, the Sultān returned safe and loaded with much booty in the month of Muharram of 825 A H (1421 A D) to Lahore He stayed for a month in Lahore, which had been reduced completely to ruins, and occupied himself with the rebuilding of the fort and the gates When the fort was restored, and most of the people came back and settled in their old residences he appointed Malik Mahmūd Hasan to be the governor, and left 2000 horsemen with him, and giving him a complete equipage for holding the fort, returned to Dehli

In the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year [5]Sheikhā Khokhar in concert with the zamindārs, collected a large body of horsemen and foot soldiers, and laying the foundation of disturbance and revolt came to Lahore, and encamped near the tomb of Saiyad Hasan [6]Zinjānī, May God sanctify him ! and on the 11th of the afore-

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[1] Badāoni calls it the چهناؤ Chhināo though Col Ranking transliterates it as Chhināb

[2] Badāoni is more definite and says بتلهر میان کوه در آمد, which Col Ranking translates "to Talhar in the hill tracts" and adds in a note that it is identical with Talwarah in the Kashmir hill tracts

[3] The lith edn and some of the MSS have رای بهلیم Rāy Bhalīm or بهلم رای Rāy Bhilam Two of the MSS read رای بهیم, Rāy Bhīm, and so do Badāoni (though one MS has سلیم Salīm,) and Ferishtah

[4] It is difficult to make out this name The lith edn has تهنکر Thankar, and the MSS have تهتکه Thatkah, تهتکر Bhatkar, تهیکه Thīkah It may be the same as the تلهر of Badāoni (see note 3), Ferishtah says that Rāy Bhim offered his services, and guided the army to Bīsal the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds The language is similar to that of our author, محکم ترین جایهای

[5] It is still Sheikhā in the lith edn and all the MSS of the Ṭabakāt, though in Badāoni and Ferishtah it is Jasrat

[6] The lith edn has ریحانی but the MSS have the correct name

said month and year attacked the [1]mud fort of Lahore, and slew many men, and again on the 21st of the same month he attacked the fort with great force, but failing to do anything, sat down a few *karohs* behind his first position, and went on fighting for a month and five days, but was unable to do anything When Sheikhā was unable to do anything he returned towards [2]Kalānūr, and fought with Rāy Bhīm who had come to Kalānūr in order to render help to Malik Mahmūd Hasan In the month of Ramazān of the aforesaid year peace was concluded, and Sheikhā went towards the river Biāh At this time Malik Sikandar Tuhfah arrived at the ford of [3]Pūhī with the army which had been sent by Sultān Mubārak Shāh to help Malik Mahmūd Hasan Sheikhā had no strength left to fight, so crossing the Rāvī and the Chināb he retired into the hills Malik Sikandar crossed the river Biāh by the ford of Pūhī, and on the 12th of the month of Shawwāl of the aforementioned year arrived in Lahore Malik Mahmūd Hasan went forward to receive him and esteemed his arrival a great honour [4]Malik Rajab, Governor of Dibālpur, and Malik Sultān Shāh, Governor of Sirhind and Rāy Firoz Mū'īn and the zamindārs had before this joined Malik Sikandar The whole army, following the bank of the river Rāvī, marched towards Kalānūr, and when it reached the boundaries of Jamūn Rāy, Bhīm came and joined

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[1] قلعه خام Badāonī does not give any of the details He says نزول نموده تا یکماه - هر روز بقصد گرفتن شهر حمله میکرد و آخر الامر بمقصود نرسیده بازگشته بکلانور رفت

[2] Seventeen miles west of Gurdāspur town Lat 32° 1′ N Long 75° 11′ 30″ East It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne (Note 8, p 383, vol I of Col Ranking's trans of the Muntakhabāt-ut-twārikh)

[3] The name is given as بوهی Būhī or پوهی Pūhī in the lith edn and the MSS It appears that Malik Sikandar crossed the Biāh by this ford, as noted a few lines further on In the Persian text of Badāonī Malik Sikandar is said to have crossed the Biāh by the ford of Pūhī, but the English translator makes him cross the Rāvī by this ford, and in the index of the Eng trans Pūhī is said to be a ford on the Rāvī Badāonī has Pūhī Ferishtah has لوئی, Lu ī Col. Ranking thinks that Pūhī is identical with Ponī See note 1, p 384 of his trans

[4] Badāonī does not mention that these officers came and joined Malik Sikandar Ferishtah does, but he calls the governor of Sirhind Islām Khān Lodi

them also and did service A band of Khokhars who had become separated from Sheikhā were plundered and then the army returned towards Lahore About this time [1]Malik Mahmūd Hasan in accordance with a firmān of Sultān Mubārak Shāh went to Jālandhar and after making his arrangements there went to Dehli, and Malik Sikandar came to Lahore, and at the same time the appointment of Vazīr was transferred from Malik Sikandar to Sarwar-ul-Mulk

In the year 826 A H (1422 A D) Sultān Mubārak Shāh crossed the Ganges with the object of subduing the infidels and the insurgents of that country, and in the month of Muharram of that year he entered the province of Kaithar, and collected the revenue; and meted out their dues to some insurgents At this place Mahābat Khān the Governor of Badāūn who had been afraid of the displeasure of Khizr Khān, came and saw him The Sultān crossed the Ganges and overran and pillaged the country of the [2]Rāthors, and slew a large number of people and made others prisoner He stayed for a few days on the bank of the Ganges, and left Malik Mubāriz, and Zīrak Khān, and Kamāl Khān in the fort of Kambalah with a large army for the subjugation of the Rāthors, and he sent Malik Khairuddīn Khān against the son of Rāy [3]Sar who had fled from Khizr Khān and had kept aloof and the former overran and pillaged his country, and went to Itāwah The Rājputs shut themselves up there and fought, but in the end made their submission and did homage with humility and meekness The son of Rāy Sar rendered homage, and paid the revenue that was fixed for him. Sultān Mubārak Shāh then returned to Dehli with victory and triumph About this time Malik Mahmūd Hasan came with his army from Jālandhar to Dehli, and was honoured with the post of Bakhshī, which in those days was called the Arizī of the army

[1] These transfers are not mentioned by Badāonī

[2] A well-known tribe of Rājputs Badāonī says that the Sultān crossed the Ganges and invaded the country of the Pauwārs in the neighbourhood of Khor, otherwise called Shamsābād and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country, but this is not mentioned by the author of the Tabakāt The Pauwārs were another tribe of Rājputs

[3] As usual the name is variously given as Sar, and Sīr and Sarwar Badāonī is silent about the attack on the son of Rāy Sar, and also about the battle of Sheikhā with Rāy Bhim, and the death of the latter, and also about the unsuccessful expedition of Malik Sikandar.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year, there was a battle between Sheikhā and Rāy Bhīm, and the latter was killed; and his treasure and equipage fell into Sheikhā's hands Sheikhā felt stronger on account of this, and overran the country of Dibālpur and Lahore Malik Sikandar marched out with the intention of crushing him, and crossed the Chināb, but returned without effecting anything At this time the news of the death of Malik 'Alā'uddīn, the son of 'Ala-ul-Mulk the Governor of Multān, came News also came that Sheikh 'Ali the son and deputy of [1]Sur Ghanamish was marching from Kābul with a great army for attacking the territory of Bhakar and Siwistān The Sulṭān appointed Malik Mahmūd Hasan with a large army to suppress the disturbance created by the Mughals, and made over Multān and the territory of Sindh to him When he arrived at Multān, he gladdened the hearts of all the people and of the Musalmāns in general living there, by favours and gifts, and began to rebuild the fort of Multān, which had become dilapidated owing to the inroads of the Mughals At this time the Mughal army turned back

At this time news came that Alp Khān, the Governor of [2]Dhār, who had taken the name of Sulṭān Hoshang was advancing to seize the fort of Gwālior Mubārak Shāh advanced towards Gwālior When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biānah he heard that [3]Amīr Khān, son of Auhad Khān, the Governor of Biānah, had slain his uncle Mubārak Khān, and having laid Biānah waste, had entrenched himself on the top of a hill Mubārak Shāh encamped near the foot of the hill, and after the interchange of messages Amīr Khān agreed to pay a yearly

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[1] This name is variously given The lith edn has سور غتمش Sūr Ghatmash, the MSS have سور غمش خان Sūr Ghamish Khān, سدور عتمس Siur 'Utmish and سیور غنمش Siur Ghanmish Badāoni does not mention this invasion

[2] Dhār and Ujjain have at various times been the capital of Mālwa, the Mālava Kingdom of the Hindus Ferishtah calls Sulṭān Hoshang the Wālī of Mālwa

[3] He is so called in the lith edn and in all the MSS Badāoni calls him in the Persian text پسر اوحد خان اوحدی In the Eng translation he is called Shams Khān Auhadī, the son of Auhad Khān Auhadī, as he is called in one MS Ferishtah calls him Amir Khān ibn-i-Dāud Khān, ibn-i-Shams Khān The name given by Ferishtah agrees with that given by our author Ferishtah also says that he entrenched himself on the heights

tribute and did homage [1]Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh went from that place to Gwālior Alp Khān had encamped at a place which commanded a ford of the Chambal Mubārak Shāh discovered another ford and quickly crossed the river Some amīrs who were in the vanguard of the army plundered the outskirts of Alp Khān's army and brought in a large number as prisoners As the prisoners were Musalmāns the Sulṭān ordered their release The next day Alp Khān proposed terms of peace and having sent a fitting tribute returned towards Dhār, and Mubārak Shāh stayed on the bank of the Chambal, and after taking tribute according to the ancient custom from the zamindārs of that country, returned to Dehli in this month of Rajab 827 A H (1423 A D)

And in the month of Muharram [2]828 A H (1424 A.D) the Sulṭān proceeded towards Kaithar Nar Singh the Rāy of Kaithar came to the bank of the Ganges, did homage, and was imprisoned for a few days on account of the arrears for three years, but was at last released on payment of the revenue The Sulṭān crossed the Ganges from that place and after punishing the disturbers of the peace on that side returned At this time the news of the insurrection and violence of the Miwātians came The Sulṭān marched in that direction and plundering and destroying devastated the greater part of Miwāt The Miwātians leaving their country unoccupied and in ruins, went to the hills of [3]Jhar The Sulṭān returned to Dehli on account of the scarcity of grain and fodder and the strength of the country and sending the amirs to their jāigīrs gave himself up to enjoyment And in the year 829 A H (1425 A D) he again marched towards Miwāt with

[1] Badāonī's account of what happened at Gwālior agrees generally with that of our author, but is not nearly so picturesque and rich, in details Firishtah's account agrees with that in the Ṭabakāt and is evidently based on it The Chambal is the principal tributary of the Jumna It rises in Mālwa, is joined by the Kāli, Sind, Pārbatī and Bānās and falls into the Jumna 40 miles below Itāwah town (Hunters Imp Gaz, III 331) It is the Charmanvatī of the Sanskrit writers

[2] Badāoni says that this inroad into Kaithar took place in 827 A H but his account is extremely sketchy, the events of 827 (?)-829 occupy 5 lines in the Persian text and about the same in the English translation

[3] Variously given as Jhar Jharah and Chharah in the MSS and in the lith. edn

the object of punishing the rebels of that country. [1]Jallu and Qaddu and all the Miwātians, who were joined with them left their places unoccupied and waste, and entrenched themselves in the hills of [2]Androon, and after making dying struggles they vacated the fort and retired into the hills of Alwar The Sultān attacked them everyday and men of both sides were slain At last the Miwātians became too weak and begged for quarter Qaddu came and made his obeisance, and was imprisoned The Sultān pillaged the country of Miwāt and returned

He again marched with his troops towards Miwāt, after four months and eleven days, in the month of Muharram 830 A H (1426 A D), and after punishing the rebels of that country went to Biānah [3]Muhammad Khān, son of Auhad Khān, entrenched himself on the top of the hill and fought for sixteen days Most of his men left him, and joined Sultān Mubārak Shāh, and when he had no strength left to oppose the latter, he came out of the fort with all humility and submission with a rope round his neck and did homage, and he gave as tribute the horses, and arms, and other valuable things which he had in the fort Mubārak Shāh brought out his family and adherents from the fort, and sent them to Dehli He made over Biānah to Maqbal Khān, and Sikri which is also known as Fatehpur to Malik Khairuddīn Tuhfah and himself marched towards Gwālior The Rāys of Gwālior, and [4]Thakar and Chandwār made their submission, and paid revenue according to previous custom, and the Sultān arrived in Dehli in the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year He

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[1] The two names are given as in the text in all the MSS and the lith edn

[2] The lith edn two of the MSS have در کوه اندرون , one MS has اندرور در کوه while one MS has در کوه متحصن شد Badāoni has بکشاد قلعه اندور و الور را he seized the forts of Indore and Alwar اندرون or اندرور may be اندور

[3] He is so called in the lith edn and in all the MSS Badāonī also calls him Muhammad Khān Auhadi, but we have previously had Amīr Khān, the son of Auhad Khān, according to the Tabaḳāt and Shams Khān, son of Auhad Khān, according to Badāonī and Amir Khān, son of Dāud Khān, according to Ferishtah as the Governor of Biānah

[4] The name is doubtful It is given as تهکر , Thakar, تهنکر, Thankar and بهکر , Bhakar Badāonī says generally, receiving the submission of the Rāys of that district

changed the Jāgīr of Malik Mahmūd Hasan, and gave Hisār Firozā to him, and Malik Rajab Nādirah got Multān

[1]Muhammad Khān fled with his family and went into Miwāt Some of his adherents who had separated from him, again joined him At this time he heard that Malik Ahmad Maqbal Khānī had gone away with his army to Mahāwan, and had left Malik Khairuddīn Tuhfah in the fort, and the city of Biānah was empty (i.e unguarded) Muhammad Khān, taking advantage of this, and putting his trust in the zamindārs of Biānah, went there with a small force The majority of the people of the town and the territory joined him Malik Khairuddīn could not hold the fort He asked for quarter, and making the fort over, came to Dehli Mubārak Shāh made Biānah over to Malik Mubāriz and sent him against Muhammad Khān The latter shut himself up in the fort Malik Mubāriz took possession of the territory and brought it into control Muhammad Khān left a band of his special adherents in the fort, went alone by forced marches to the court of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī; Mubārak Shāh thought it expedient to send for Malik Mubāriz, and marched out in his own august person for the conquest of Biānah

On the way a petition from Qādir Khān, Governor of Kālpī, reached him to the effect that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, was advancing with a well-equipped army to attack Kālpī Sultān Mubārak Shāh kept the matter of Biānah in abeyance and advanced to meet Sultān Ibrāhīm At this time the Sharqī troops had attacked [2]Bhugaon and had advanced towards [3]Badāūn Sultān Mubārak Shāh having

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[1] Badāonī does not give any account of these transactions He says nothing about Muhammad Khān's return to Biānah and his subsequent appeal to Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī He begins the narration of the events of the year 831 A H with the arrival of ambassadors from Qādir Khān to inform Mubārak Shāh of the advance of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī to attack Kālpī

[2] All the MSS except one and the lith edn have got the name of this place as بهر کانو One MS has بهر کالو Badāonī has بهر ب کانوں Ferishtah has بهر کانو the same as the Ṭabaķāt Bhongāon is in the Mainpuri district, 9½ miles east from Mainpuri town, at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk Roads The town was founded according to tradition by Rājā Bhīm Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the Jhil or lake Hunter, Imp Gaz ii, 403, (as quoted by Col Ranking, trans vol I, p 386, note 3)

[3] Badāūn is about 50 miles north of Bhongāon Col Ranking, *Ibid*, note 4

crossed the river [1]Jumna, attacked Mauza' [2]Jartoli which was among the celebrated towns of Mawās; and from there went to [3]Atrauli; and he sent [4]Mahmūd Hasan with ten thousand horsemen to attack Mukhtas Khān, brother of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, who had advanced against Itāwah When Mahmūd Hasan came upon the Sharqī army, the latter unable to meet him, returned and went back to its own Sulṭān Mahmūd Hasan waited for a few days and joined his own (i e Sultān Mubārak Shāh's) army

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī hugging the bank of the[5] Āb siāh, came near Burhānābād, one of the dependencies of [6]Mārharah Mubārak Shāh advanced from Atraulī to the town of [7]Mālī Kotah The Sulṭān Sharqī seeing the greatness and splendour of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh's army gave up the idea of carrying on the warfare and in the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year marched towards the town of Rāprī From that place he crossed the Jumna and went to Biānah, and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar Mubārak Shāh crossed the Jumna near Chandwār and encamped at a distance of five *karohs* from (Sultān Ibrāhīm's) army His troops attacked the outskirts of the latter army everyday, and seizing horses, and cattle and men, took them to their own army For twenty days things went on like this, till on the 7th of the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year, Sulṭān Sharqī mounted his horse with the determination of giving battle Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Mahmūd Hasan and Fateh Khān, son of Sulṭān Muzaffar, and Zīrak Khān, and Islām Khān and Malik Chaman the grandson of Khān-i-Jahān, and Malik Kālū

[1] Badāoni says در گذر نوه پتل , at the ford of Nuh Patal

[2] The lith edn has هر تولی but all the MSS and Badāonī, and Ferishtah has حرتولی . Col Ranking says he is unable to find the place

[3] Atrauli is 16 miles from Aligarh town Hunter, Imp Gaz , p 1 as Col Ranking *ibid* , p 386

[4] He was the ملک الشرق Malik-ush-Sharq

[5] The lith edn has آب سیاه but the MSS have آب شاه Badāonī has آب سیاه عرب کالی پانی , i e the Kālinī or the Kārāsu of the Malfūzāt-i-Taimūrī

[6] The lith edn and one of the MSS omit از توابع مارهره , but all the other MSS have the name as I have given it Badāonī has after Burhānābād که تعلق باتاوه داشت

[7] Badāonī has Kotāh but Ferishtah has Mālī Kotāh

the superintendent of the elephants, and Malik Ahmad Maqbal Khānī to oppose him, and they fought from midday till evening, when they returned and sat down facing each other. On the [1]following day which would be the 17th of the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir Sulṭān Sharqī started, and took the way to Jaunpur, and Mubārak Shāh went to Gwālior by way of [2]Hatkānat

He took tribute from the Rāy of Gwālior in accordance with the former practice, and then returned to Biānah Although Muhammad Khān Auhadī made frantic efforts he accomplished nothing, and as he despaired of aid from Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī he prayed for quarter and came and rendered service to Mubārak Shāh The Sulṭān drew the pen of pardon across his offences, and gave him protection, and on the 20th of the month of Rajab came out of the fort and went away towards Miwāt The Sultān left Mahmūd Hasan to guard the fort and administer the province, and marching back arrived at Dehli on the 11th of the month Sh'abān 831 A.H (1427 A D)

In the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year the Sultān had Malik Qaddu Miwātī seized and put to death, and sent Malik Sarwar to govern the province of Miwāt Most of the inhabitants laid their places waste, and retired into the hills [3]Jalāl Khān, brother of Qaddu, and Ahmad Khān and Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn and all his relations assembled in the fort of [4]Andarun Malik Sarwar after collecting the revenue returned towards the city And in the month of Zi'qadeh news came that [5]Jasrat, son of Sheikhā Khokhar, had besieged Kalānūr, and Malik Sikandar, the Governor of Lahore, who had gone to attack

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[1] All the MSS and the lith edn say روز دیگر که هفدهم ماه جمادي الاخر باشد, after giving the هفتم of the month as the date of the battle I cannot make this out unless روز دیگر means another day and not the next day

[2] Badāoni says Mubārak Shāh did not pursue Sultān Ibrāhīm, because both sides were Musalmāns, as if this fact had suddenly dawned upon him The place is هتکانت in all the MSS The lith edn has هستکانت (?) which is probably Hastkānat Badāoni has ساتگانه Satgānah, and Firishtah Halghāt

[3] He had previously been called Jallu

[4] Written so in one MS and in the lith edn The other MSS have ایندور and اندر Badāonī does not mention these events at all, but on a previous occasion he had mentioned Indor and Alwar as two forts in Miwāt

[5] The name is spelt جسرت in the lith edn and in Badāonī, but the MSS

hım, had been defeated; and had returned to Lahore Jasrat crossed the rıver Beās, and attempted to seıze the fort of Jālandhar, but as he was unable to do thıs, he overran the neıghbouring country and takıng many prısoners agaın turned to Kalānūr Mubārak Shāh sent orders to Zīrak Khān, Governor of Sāmānah and Islām Khān, the Amīr of Sırhınd that they should help Malık Sıkandar But before they could arrıve, Malık Sıkandar takıng Rāy Ghālıb Kalānūrī and hıs forces wıth hım advanced to the rıver Beās Jasrat came and confronted hım, and beıng defeated went towards [1]Thīkah and of the varıous kınds of plunder, all that he had taken ın the dıstrıcts round Jālandhar fell ınto the hands of Malık Sıkandar's troops

In the month of Muharram 832 A H (1428 A D.) Malık Mahmūd Hasan came to Dehlı, after puttıng down the dısturbances whıch Muhammad Khān Auhadī had caused ın Bıānah After that Sultān Mubārak Shah advanced to the foot hılls of Mıwāt, and came to Mahdorāı and stayed there for a few days Jālāl Khān Mıwātī and all the Mıwātıans, who were weak, accepted the revenue demanded of them, and some of them came and rendered homage to the Sulṭān, and the Sultān returned to Dehlı ın the month of Shawwāl of the aforementıoned year About thıs tıme the news of the death of Malık Rajab Nādırah, the Governor of Multān, came The Sultān sent Malık Mahmūd Hasan to Multān after conferrıng on hım the tıtle of 'Imād-ul-Mulk

In the year 833 A H (1429 A D) the Sulṭān went wıth hıs army towards Gwālıor, and arrıved there by way of Bıānah, and havıng put down the dısturbances ın that country he went towards Hatkānat The Rāy beıng routed retıred among the [2]foot hılls The Sultān plundered hıs country and takıng a large number of the ınhabıtants prısoners came to [3]Rāprı, and transferrıng that provınce from the son

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have هسرتهه Badāonī makes no mentıon of these events, he only mentıons Jasrat's attack on Malık Sıkandar ın 835 A H

[1] Thıs name ıs varıously given ın the MSS and ın the lıth edn as, تهنکه , تهنکه , دتهکه , ندی and تهکر See note 4, p 37

[2] The lıth edn and two of the MSS have نکوه پایه در آمد but one MS has نکوه پایه and another نکوهساه ما حانه

[3] The lıth edn and several MSS have را بری

of [1]Hasan Khān made it over to Malik Hamzah, and in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year returned (to Dehli) On the way Saiyad Sālim died, and the Sultān conferred the title of Sālim Khān on his elder and Shujā'-ul-Mulk on his other son The aforesaid Saiyad had for a period of thirty years been in the service of Khizr Khān, the pardoned, and was one of the great amīrs and for many years he had collected much treasure as the keeper of the fort of Tabarhindah [2]In the month of Shawwāl of that year Faulād Turkbacha came into the fort of Tabarhindah and raised the standard of hostility Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyad Sālim and sent [3]Rāy Hanu Behtı to Tabarhindah in order to put down Faulād, and to recover the property of Saiyad Sālim. When they arrived in the vicinity of Tabarhindah Faulād proposed terms of peace, and made them careless, and on the next day sallying out suddenly from the fort, made a night attack on the troops Malik Yusuf and Rāy Hanu who knew nothing of the intended treachery, gave battle, but were defeated, and returned towards Sarsuti, and their equipage and goods fell into Faulād's hands, and became the cause of an increase of his strength and power The Sultān hearing this news started towards Tabarhindah and amīrs, and troops from all directions came and joined the Sultān's army, and the zamindārs also came to render service As Faulād had great strength, he shut himself up in the fort of Tabarhindah Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Zīrak Khān, and Malik Kālū and Islām Khān and Kamāl Khān from the way to besiege

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[1] The MSS as well as the lith edn have حسن خاں but Badāonī has حسن حاں

[2] The facts are not clear Badāonī says that Faulād who was a غلام ترکبچه one of the slaves of Saiyad Sālim revolted and took possession of Saiyad Sālim's immense hordes of treasure, but neither he nor the author of the Ṭabakāt says that Saiyad Sālim's sons had anything to do with the revolt, but the fact that Mubārak Shāh imprisoned them points in that direction Ferishtah says that the favours conferred on them were not sufficient to secure their fidelity and they incited Faulād Turkbacha

[3] Badāonī says that Malik Yusuf Sarwar and Rāy Hansu Behti were sent to Tabarhindah In the Ṭabakāt Malik Yusuf Sarwar is not mentioned in the first instance though Malik Yusuf is mentioned later on The other name is given as رای هنو, Rāy Hanu رای بهو Rāy Bhū, رای هپو, Rāy Hapu and رای هیپو Rāy Hipu

Tabarhindah 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Multān, was also summoned to put down Faulād's rebellion In the month of Zi-hijjeh of the aforesaid year 'Imād-ul-Mulk arrived at Sarsuti, and attended on the Sulṭān As Faulād had faith on 'Imād-ul-Mulk's words he was sent to Tabarhindah to give assurances to Faulād. The latter talked a great deal but persisted in the revolt, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk came back to Mubārak S͟hāh without achieving his object.

The Sulṭān gave permission to 'Imād-ul-Mulk, in the month of Safar 834 A H (1430 A D) to return to Multān, and himself went back to Dehli, leaving Islām K͟hān, and Kamāl K͟hān and Rāy Firoz Mū'in, to carry on the siege of Tabarhindah 'Imād-ul-Mulk went there and having directed the amīrs about the siege went to Multān. Faulād carried on the war for six months, and sent a large sum to Sheikh 'Ali Beg in Kābul, by trustworthy agents, and requested his help Sheikh 'Ali started in the direction of Tabarhindah in the month of Jamadi-ul-āwwal of that year When he arrived within ten *karohs* from Tabarhindah, Islām K͟hān and Kamāl K͟hān, and all the amīrs raised the siege, and went to their own governments Faulād came out of the fort, saw Sheikh 'Ali, and paid to him the sum of two lākhs Tankās promised by him Sheikh 'Ali took [1]the family and children of Faulād with him, and returned, and having made the rāiyats of the province of Jālandhar prisoners proceeded in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year towards Lahore Malik Sikandar paid to him the sum which he used to pay to him every year, and made him turn back From there Sheikh 'Ali went to [2]Talwārah and tried to lay it waste. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came to the town of [3]Tulumba to oppose him Sheikh 'Ali not having the strength to meet him went towards [4]Khatībpur At this time the order of the Sulṭān came that

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[1] Badāonī says Sheikh 'Ali took Faulād as well as his family and children with him

[2] Badāonī does not mention Talwārah here He says Sheikh 'Ali made towards Dibālpur and 'Imād-ul-Mulk came out from Multān to meet him. (See vol I, p 389, of the translation) As regards Talwārah see note 2, p 302

[3] On the left bank of the Rāvi, 52 miles N-E of Multān It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Punjab, and also as the place where he corssed the Rāvī Hunter, Imp Gaz XIII, p 63 and also Cunningham, Anc Geo of India, p 224, as given in note 2, p 389, vol I of the trans of the Munt-ut-Tawārīkh

[4] Badāonī has خوطپور, Khūtpūr Ferishtah has حطیب پور, Khatībpūr.

[1]'Imād-ul-Mulk should leave Tulumba and go to Multān, and on the 24th of the month of Sha'bān of the aforementioned year, he commenced his march towards Multān. Sheikh 'Alī who had become proud, crossed the river Rāvī near Khatībpur and began to pillage and lay waste the parganās on the bank of the Jhīlam which are known as the Punjāb, and then turned towards Multān. When he arrived within ten *karohs* of Multān 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent Sulṭān Shāh Lodī who was the uncle of Malik Bahlol Lodī to oppose him. He met Sheikh 'Alī on the way, and fighting with him attained to martyrdom, and a part of his army were slain, and the rest fled and returned to Multān. On the third day of the month of Ramazān of the aforementioned year Sheikh 'Alī encamped at [2]Khairābād, which is close to Multān, and [3]on the 4th Ramazān began a battle at the gate of the fort. 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent out the infantry so that they might keep Sheikh 'Alī's troops in the gardens, and the latter did nothing that day and went back to his encampment. He again began a battle on Friday the 27th Ramazān, and advanced on the fort, and many men were slain and Sheikh 'Alī turning back, took up his position in his own camp. In this way for some time the warfare went on.

Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Fateh Khān, son of Zafar Khān Gujrātī with celebrated amīrs such as [4]Zīrak Khān and Malik Kālū, superintendent of elephants, and Islām Khān, and Malik Yusuf, and Kamāl Khān and Rāy Hanu Behtu to help 'Imād-ul-Mulk. They arrived in the neighbourhood of Multān on the 26th of the month of

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[1] Badāonī says 'Imād-ul-Mulk himself was defeated, and Malik Suleimān Shāh Lodī, who was in the advance guard of the army, was slain. He is, however, called Sultān Shāh Lodī in all the MSS and the lith. edn. of the Ṭabakāt.

[2] Badāonī says that after the battle in which 'Imād-ul-Mulk was defeated and Malik Suleimān Shāh Lodī was slain, Sheikh 'Alī came to Khusruabād. Ferishtah says that the battle took place at Khairābād 3 stages from Multān.

[3] Badāonī does not give any of the details. He only says و مدتی مدید میان او (شیخ علی) و عماد الملک هر روز جنگ بود i.e. for a long time between him (i.e. Sheikh 'Alī and 'Imād-ul-Mulk there were battles everyday.

[4] These names are not given by Badāonī, who says that Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh sent a very large force and made Fateh Khān, the son of Sulṭān Muzaffar Khān Gujrātī its commander. All the MSS. of the Ṭabakāt and the lith. edn. agree in calling Fateh Khan's father Zafar Khan. There is much diversity about the name of Rāy Hanu Behtī in the MSS.

Shawwāl, and on the followıng day engaged Sheıkh 'Alı and defeated hım. The latter beıng no longer able to oppose them went ınto the entrenchment whıch he had erected round hıs army He dıd not even stay there, crossed the rıver Jhīlam and decıded on flıght The majorıty of hıs troops were drowned, and a part were slaın, and a part taken prısoners He hımself wıth a few followers went to the town of [1]Shūr, and hıs horses, and camels, and weapons, and all the equıpage of hıs army were taken 'Imād-ul-Mulk and all the amīrs pursued hım as far as Shūr, Mır Muzaffar, Sheıkh 'Alı's nephew entrenched hımself there, and Sheıkh 'Alı hımself with a small band turned towards Kābul The amīrs who had come to reınforce 'Imād-ul-Mulk started towards Dehlı ın accoıdance to order Mubārak Shāh transferred Multān from 'Imād-ul-Mulk and placed ın charge of Khaıruddīn Khān

At thıs tıme Sheıkha Khokhar takıng advantage of hıs opportunıty, and gaınıng strength and power commenced dısturbance and rebellıon [3]Malık Sıkandar Tuhfah advanced towards Jālandhar to put down the dısturbance Sheıkha collected a large force and comıng out of the hılls of [4]Sakar, and crossıng the rıvers Jhīlam, and Rāvī and Biāh encamped on the bank of the rıver [5]Māīn near Jālandhar and makıng Malık Sıkandar careless, suddenly attacked hım The latter was defeated and taken prısoner Sheıkha ın great force went to Lahore and besıeged ıt Saıyad Najm-ud-dīn, Malık Sıkandar's deputy, and Malık Khushkhabar, hıs slave, shut themselves up, and everyday engagements took place At thıs tıme [6]Sheıkh 'Alı agaın came from Kābul, and overıan the country ıound Multān, and took the men of [7]Khatpur and most of the vıllages on the bank of the

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[1] The name ıs شور Shūr ın the lıth edn and ın one MS and سدور Sanūr, ın the others Badāonī has سنپور Sanpur or شداور Sinūr Ferıshtah has شدور Shīwar which Col Rankıng has adopted

[2] It ıs Sheıkha ın the MSS and ın the lıth edn Badāonī has Jasrath

[3] He was the Governor of Lahore

[4] Two of the MSS have دتکر, Sakar, others have بتکه Fatkah, and سکر Batkar The lıth edn has تهکر Thakar Badāonī has no name

[5] The MSS have مدن, Mīn, and سین Sin The lıth edn has مئدن Mū'in

[6] Accordıng to Ferıshtah, at the ınstıgatıon of Jasrat

[7] It ıs حطب پور ın the lıth edn The MSS have ختپور Khatpur

Jhilam prisoner And on the 17th of Rābī'-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year he arrived in the town of [1]Talambah, and having got the residents of the place by promises and terms of agreement into his power made the well-known men among them prisoners, and took possession of the fort He slew some of the Musalmāns, and, [2]released some, and various calamities happened to them. And at this time Faulād Turkbacha leaving Tabarhindah with a force overran the country of Rāy Firoz, and the latter was killed in battle Sulṭān Mubārak heard of these events, marched towards Lahore and Multān in the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of that year, and made Malik Sarwar the commander of the advance guard When the latter reached Sāmānah, Sheikha Khokhar abandoned the siege, and going towards the foot-hills of [3]Sakar took Malik Sikandar with him Sheikh 'Ali being afraid of the army of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh, turned back and went to [4]Balut Sultān Mubārak Shāh transferred Lahore from [5]Malik-ush-Sharq 'Imād-ul-Mulk and made it over to Nasrat Khān Gurg-āndāz Malik Sarwar brought the family and dependants of Malik-ush-Sharq from the fort of Lahore and sent them to Dehli

And in the month of Zihijjeh of the aforesaid year Sheikha again came out of the hills with a large force, and having harassed some parganās went back to the hills At this time Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh had his camp in the town of Pānipat on the bank of the Jumna, and having stayed there for some time, and sent 'Imād-ul-Mulk with a well equipped army in the month of Ramazān of that year, for the subjugation of the zamindārs of Biānah and Gwālior, returned to Dehli.

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[1] The MSS have تلبه The lith edn and Badāoni have طلبنه

[2] According to Badāoni he was not so merciful He says و مردم انرا بتمام دستگیر و نهب و تاراج ساخت و اکثری را بکشت و بقیه را از صغار و کبار بولایت خود برد, i e he took all the men of the place prisoners and pillaged and destroyed them, he slew most of them and took the remainder both great and small into his own country

[3] See note 4, page 315

[4] Three MSS have بلوت, Balūt, one has بارتوت Bārtūt, and one مالوت Mālūt, and the lith edn has مارتوت Mārtut Badāoni says Sheikh 'Ali retired to his own country

[5] Badāoni says it was Shams-ul-Mulk from whom the Government of Lahore and Jālandhar was taken to be made over to Nasrat Khān Gurg-āndāz As a matter of fact Malik Sikandar appears to have been the governor of Lahore and neither 'Imād-ul-Mulk nor Shams-ul-Mulk 'Imād-ul-Mulk had been governor of Multān till it was taken from him, and made over to Khairuddin Khāni

And in the month of Muharram [1] 836 A H (1433 A D) (the Sulṭān) marched out to put down the disturbances in the country of Sāmānah and sent Malik Sarwar to attack Faulād Turkbacha The latter entrenched himself and went on fighting [2] Malik Sarwar left Zīrak Khān, and Islām Khān with a large army round the fort of Tabarhindah and himself went to attend on the Sulṭān The latter disallowed his return, and took away Lahore and Jālandhar from Nasrat Khān and made them over to Malik[3] Ilhādād Lodī. When the latter reached the country of Jālandhar Sheikha crossed the river Biāh and gave him battle Malīk Ilhādād was defeated and retired towards the foot hills of [4] Kothi Bajwāra, and the insurrection of Sheikhā became stronger.

The Sulṭān marched towards Miwāt in the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of the aforementioned year, and when he arrived at the town of [5] Nāwar, [6] Jalāl Khān Miwāti shut himself up with a large

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[1] Badāonī says that in 836 A H the Sulṭān went to Sāmānah to put down the rebellion of Jasrat, but this is not mentioned in the Ṭabaķāt except that in two MSS the name of Jasrat occurs, but the sentence is apparently incorrect and meaningless It is this میانه رکوالیار فرستاد عماد الملک را بالشکر اراسته درماه رمضان سده مدکور بار حسرت کہوکر جہت تسعیر رمیدداران Badāonī also say, that at this time Mubārak Shāh's mother, who was known as Makhdūm-i-Jahān died at Dehli, and he went to Dehli from the camp with a small retinue, and after performing the rites of mourning went back to the camp, but there is no mention of this in the Ṭabaķāt

[2] All the MSS and the lith edn have و ملک سرور و زیرک خان و اسلام &c خان را بالشکر بسیار but this does not make sense, so I have omitted the conjunction and between Malik Sarwar and Zīrak Khān

[3] Badāonī calls him الهداد کالو لودی In two of the MSS of the Ṭabakāt he is called الهداد و کدکالوهی, in one الهداد کدکالودی, while the others and the lith edn call him الهداد لودی

[4] Badāonī says that Malik Ilhādād was defeated at Bajwarah which Col Ranking in a note says is a village 1½ miles E of Hoshiārpur and about 25 miles N E of Jālandhar Badāonī does not name the foot hills to which he retired, but only says he retired to the کوه پایه

[5] The lith edn has بعصد پاورد which is manifestly incorrect The MSS all have بقصبه to the town of, correctly, but the name of the town is given variously as باورد , ناورد , ناور , باور Badāonī does not give any name

[6] Badāonī does not give these details, and he simply says و سلطان دریں سال در سر جلال خان در میوات لشکر کشید

force in the fort of Andarūn The next day Jalāl Khān fled out of the fort, and the grain and things stored in it fell into the Sultān's hands The latter marched from there and going to Tajārah laid waste the greater part of the country Jalāl Khān then came with humility and made his submission, and paid the revenue according to previous custom 'Imād-ul-Mulk came with a large force from the country of Biānah and paid his respects The Sultān sent Malik Kamāluddīn with a few other noblemen for the purpose of putting into order the country of Gwālior and Itāwahr and in the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of that year went to Dehli

About this time news came that Sheikh 'Ali was marching against the Amīrs who were beseiging Tabarhindah The Sultān sent an army to reinforce the Amīrs At this time Sheikh 'Ali came by forced marches from Shūr and overran the country on the banks of the river Biāh, and taking a great number of people as prisoners went towards Lahore, and [2]Malik Yusuf and Malik Ismael who were the governors of the city shut themselves up and placed the shield of prohibition in front of them, and made very great efforts in the defence of the fort and the city But when they became aware of the hostility of the residents of the city, they decided upon flight and left the fort Sheikh 'Ali sent troops to pursue them, and they

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[1] See note 1, p 315

[2] Badāoni gives a different account He says و زیرک خان و دیگر امرا که در لاهور بودند محصر شدند و باو جنگ می کردند تا شهر ساکنان در پاسبانی و یزکی تساهل ورزیدند و ملک یوسف سرور الملک و ملک اسمعیل شبی اتفاق با زیرک خان نموده بیرون آمدند و جنگ کرده منهزم شدند ٭

Col Ranking translates this thus "Zirak Khān and the other amirs who were in Lahore fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till one night the inhabitants of Lahore were, careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yusuf Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Malik Ismail under cover of night succeeded in joining Zirak Khān, then sallying from the fort, gave battle and were defeated" This does not appear to me to be accurate Col Ranking's translation implies that Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Malik Ismail got into the fort owing to the carelessness of the guards and joined Zīrak Khān and sallied out whereas it appears to me that they were in the city from the beginning and they left it on account of their suspicion about the loyalty of the citizens This is clearly the meaning of the version of the Tabakāt, and I think it is also the meaning of Badāoni's version

slew a great host, and took some prisoners, Malik Rāja who was one of the chief men was among the prisoners Sheikh 'Alī having taken possession of Lahore completely plundered and destroyed it, and commenced the reconstruction of the fort, and leaving two thousand selected horsemen to defend the city[1] turned towards Dibālpur. Malik Yusuf who after leaving the fort of Lahore had taken shelter in the fort of Dibālpur remained shut up in it When news of these events reached 'Imād-ul-Mulk at Tabarhindah, he sent his brother Malik Ahmad with a large force to help Malik Yusuf Sheikh 'Alī left Dibālpur, on the arrival of the reinforcements, and took possession of the towns between Lahore and Dibālpur

In the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year, when the news of the trouble and disturbance caused by Sheikh 'Alī reached Mubārak Shāh, he marched to Sāmānah, and waited for a few days for the assembling of the troops When Malik Kamāluddīn, and some other Amīrs arrived, he marched to Talwandī 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Islām Khān, who were nominated for Tabarhindah came and offered homage A firmān was sent to other Amirs to leave the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah He himself went with great rapidity to the ford of [2]Pūhī Sheikh 'Alī turned and fled Sultān Mubārak Shāh arrived at the neighbourhood of Dibālpur, Sheikh 'Alī had then crossed the river Chināb The Sultān conferred the title of Shams-ul-Mulk on Malik Sikandar Tufah, who had been released from the imprisonment into which Sheikha Khokhar had thrown him, and made him Governor of Dibālpur and Jālandhar, and sent him in pursuit of Sheikh 'Alī. The latter had, however, [3]escaped, leaving [4]Muzaffar, his nephew in the fort of [5]Shur, and portions of his equipage and arms had fallen into the hands of the troops of Shams-ul-Mulk The Sultān crossed the river Rāvī opposite to Talambah, and besieged the fort of Shūr Muzaffar struggled for a month, and at last with great humility knocked on the door of peace, and gave his

[1] The MSS differ considerably I have taken the reading which appears to me to be correct, and agrees generally with the account given by Badāonī

[2] See note 3, p 303

[3] بدر رفته lit gone out

[4] Badāonī calls him امیر مظفر Amīr Muzaffar and in the English translation he is described as Amīr Muzaffar Khān

[5] See note 1, p 315

own daughter, with much tribute, to the son of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh. The Sulṭān turning back, sent Shams-ul-Mulk to Lahore and the troops of Sheikh 'Alī who were in Lahore sued for quarter in the month of Shawwāl of the aforementioned year, and evacuated the fort Shams-ul-Mulk took possession of it When Mubārak Shāh had completed his work in connection with Shūr and Lahore, he went with [1]a light retinue on a pilgrimage to (the tombs of) the Shiekhs of Multān, and from there came to Dibālpur

As he had no better (office) than 'Imād-ul-Mulk, he took the provinces of Dibālpur and Jālandhar from Shams-ul-Mulk and conferred them on him, and Bianāh which was the Jāgīr of 'Imād-ul-Mulk was transferred to Shams-ul-Mulk The Sulṭān then [2]went to Dehli As the duties of the Vazārat could not be carried out by Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Malik Kamāluddīn was [3]trustworthy in all matters, the Sulṭān made over the affairs of the nobles to his jurisdiction, and decided, that the two should attend to all affairs in consultation with each other [4]Malik Kamāluddīn was a man of understanding and experience, he became the refuge of the people, and gained an ascendancy in the discharge of official matters Shawar-ul-Mulk had been hurt in his feelings on account of the transfer of Dibālpur and his old Jāgirs and became hostile through envy, and made the sons of [5]Kānku and Kāju who had been brought up by this (i e the Sulṭān's) family, and had acquired wealth and followers join him, and having made the [6]Mirān-Sadi Nāir 'Arib Mumālik and Qāzī Abdus Samad

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[1] جریده , alone, or with a light retinue

[2] Badāonī says چریده بایلغار ازاں حدود در روز عید قربان بدهلی رسید i e , with a light retinue he came by forced marches from those parts and arrived in Dehli, on the day of the 'Id of sacrifice

[3] The lith edn has مستعد , ready, the MSS have معتمد or معتبر trustworthy Badāonī calls the man Malik Kamāl-ul-Mulk, but Ferishtah has Kamāluddīn, but later he is called Kamāl-ul-Mulk in Ferishtah also In fact there is a good deal of confusion between Kamāluddīn and Kamāl-ul-Mulk in the MSS and in the lith edn of the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbari also

[4] Badāoni calls him ملک کمالالملک که نایب لشکر بود Malik Kamāl-ul-Mulk who was the deputy (superintendent ?) of the army

[5] Badāoni calls them کانگو و کجوی کهتری , Kāngu and Kajwi Khatri

[6] I do not know whether the whole of this is the title of one man

[1]special chamberlain also join him in the enmity, was on the look-out for an opportunity. At this time Sultān Mubārak Shāh laid the foundations of a city on the bank of the river Jumna on the 17th day of the month of Rabī-ul-āwwal 837 A H (1433 A D.) and called it[2] Mubārakābād

At this time the news of the victory at Tabarhindah and the head of Faulād Turkabachah were brought to Dehli Sultān Mubārak Shāh went to Tabarhindah on the [3]pretext of hunting there, and in a short time, having made the zamindārs of that country obedient to orders and submissive, came back to Mubārakābād At this time intelligence was brought that warfare was going on between Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī and Sultān Hoshang Mālwi at Kālpī, and Sultān Mubārak Shāh started for Kālpī in the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the aforementioned year, after issuing *farmāns* summoning the amīrs of the provinces, and encamping in the neighbourhood of Dehli waited there for a few days to enable the troops to assemble It so happened that on Friday the 9th of the month of Rajab 837 A H [4]Sultān Mubārak Shāh went to superintend the works at Mubārakābād; and he had no one with him except a few particular and intimate companions Sarwar-ul-Mulk, who was waiting for an opportunity gave a signal to the desperate men who had conspired with him, and

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[1] خاص حاجب

[2] Doubtless after his own name, but Badāoni indulges in a pun on the meaning of the word Mubārak (auspicious), and says و مبارک اباد که در معنی خراباد بود نام نهاد i e and named it Mubārakābād (the auspicious city) though in meaning (i e in reality) it was Kharābābād (or the city of ruin), in allusion to the fact that the Sultān was assassinated there

[3] The use of the words بهانه, pretext, is explained by the following passages in Badāoni رسیدن مبارک شاه ازین خوشحالی در پوست نگنجیده بشکار بهانه تبرهنده from which it appears that he did not really go on a hunting excursion, but was so overjoyed at the news that he was ready to jump out of his skin and could not deny himself the pleasure of paying a hurried visit to Tabarhindah

[4] Badāoni does not give the date but he gives some details He says روزی با جمعی معدود بی تکلفانه بدان جانب سوار شده استعداد نماز جمعه میکرد کافران مدبران صدر که باغوای سرور الملک هندوستانه در کمین بوده فرصت وقت می جستند اتفاق کرده در محل مبارک شاهی به بهانهٔ در امده رسیده بال ببدرهٔ کبوتری کهتری ند بعث این پادشاه سعید را شهید ساختند

they at once lifted up their swords, and made Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh a martyr The period of his reign was thirteen years, three months and sixteen days.

MUHAMMAD SHĀH, [1]SON OF MUBĀRAK SHĀH, SON OF KHĪZR KHĀN

Muhammad Shāh was the son of Shāhzādāh Farīd, son of Khīzr Khān As Mubārak Shāh had called him his son, the author of the Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī which was written in his (Mubārak Shāh's) reign has mentioned him as the son of Mubārak Shāh The author of the Tārikh-i-Bahādur Shāhī has described him as the son of Farīd Shāhzādāh And in other histories the sonship of Mubārak Shāh has been attributed to him In this book also the relationship has been mentioned, as it is ordinarily known

In short, in the late hours of the Friday on which Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh attained to martyrdom, Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne of sovereignty by consent of the amīrs and the great pillars (officers) of state Sarwar-ul-Mulk, although he had outwardly declared his allegiance still kept possession of the paraphernalia of sovereignty, such as treasury, the elephants and the armoury Sarwar-ul-Mulk received the title of Khān-i-Jahān, and Mīrān Sadr that of Muīn-ul-Mulk [2]Malik-ush-Sharq Kamāluddin waited for an opportunity for avenging the murder of Mubārak Shāh against Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Mīrān Sadr and[3] all the base ungrateful wretches On the day following the accession of Muhammad Shāh, Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent for such of the slaves of Mubārak Shāh, as possessed any forces, on the pretext of their declaring their allegiance, and seized some of them and [4]put them to death and imprisoned others, such as Karamchand and

[1] This is the reading of all the MSS and the lith edn Muhammad Shāh however was really the son of Farīd Khān and he is described as such by Badāonī The reason why he is called the son of Mubārak Shāh is explained in the opening lines of the account of his reign in the Ṭabākāt

[2] Badāonī says he resided outside the city بیرون شهر توطن اختیار نمود and he seems to have remained quiescent, and it was Sarwar-ul-Mulk that took aggressive steps

[3] The actual words سایر حرام خواران

[4] There are some variations in the readings One MS omits بعضی را مصادره کرد و and the same MS has the word ملک before کرم چند and reads

Malik Maqbūl and Malik Fatūh; and began to make all sorts of efforts for completely destroying the Mubārak Shāhī slaves He also kept in his own possession the parganās in the vicinity of the capital, which were the epitome and the select (i e the most valuable) of all; and distributed a few amongst the other Amīrs, and he made over the parganās of Hiānah, and Amroha, and Narnol and Kuhrām and some parganās in the Doāb to [1]Sidh Pāl and Sidhāran and their relations. He also sent [2]Abu Shāh his own slave to [3]Biānah for collecting the (arrear) revenue of some years The latter arrived in the town of Biānah on the 12th of the aforesaid month, and tried to seize the fort Yusuf Khān Auhadī receiving information of this, came to Biānah from [4]Hindwan, and fought with and slew Abu Shāh, and the members of his family and his sons were taken prisoners. As the ingratitude of Sarwar-ul-Mulk was patent to everybody, most of the Amīrs, who had been nourished by the salt of Khizr Khān and Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh were thinking how they could do for him Sarwar-ul-Mulk was also planning how he could seize them. At this time news came that [5]Ilhadād Kakā Lodī, Governor of Sambal and [6]Āhār, and Malik Chaman, Governor of Badāūn, and Amīr 'Ali Gujrātī, and Amīr

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مدوح as مدرع Ferishtah also has ملک before کرم چند and has قدوع for مدرع he also says that Sarwar-ul-Mulk conferred the title of Khān-i-'āzam Saiyad Khān on the son of Saiyad Sālim, and large Jāgirs, to bring him to his own side, and that he intended ultimately to make himself the Sulṭān

[1] There are some variations in these names Badāonī describes them as Sīdh Pāl and Sidhāran Khetrī and describes them as the قاتلا or murderers of Mubārak Shāh Sīdh Pāl was the man who according to Badāonī, actually cut down the Sulṭān (see note 4, p 321)

[2] He is called Abu Shāh in the lith edn and some MSS and بوشه in other MSS Badāonī calls him رانون سیه Rānūn Sīah, the slayer of Sīdh Pāl

[3] Badāonī also has Biānah, but the lith edn of Ferishtah has Sāmānah which is of course incorrect

[4] Col Ranking says that the text and both MSS read هندون which he transliterates as Hindūn but Ferishtah has هندوان Hindwān, so he adopts that He also says that Hindaun which is nearer هندون than هندوان is about 20 mile south of Biānah and is situated in the Jaypur State

[5] That is how he is called in most of the MSS In one MS and in the lith edn and in Ferishtah (lith edn.) he is called Ilhadād Lodi. Badāonī calls him Ilhadād Kālū Lodī

[6] In Buland Shahar district, U P, 20 miles north-west of Buland Shahar.

[1]Kabīk Turkbacha had raised the standard of hostility, and Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent [2]Kamāluddīn, and Saiyad Khān, and Yusuf Khān, younger son of Sidhāran Kānku to crush their rebellion. Kamāluddīn encamped on the bank of the Jumna in the month of Ramazān. He went from there to the town of Baran and waited there with the object of avenging the murder of Mubārak Shāh on the son of Sarwar-ul-Mulk and on Sidhāran. Malik Ilhadād knowing Kamāluddīn to be a friend did not advance from Āhār. Sarwar-ul-Mulk was now aware of Kamāluddīn's treachery and sent [3]Malik Hushyār his slave on the pretext of helping Kamāluddīn, so that being aware of his treachery he might attend to the safety of Yusuf and Sidhāran. At this time Malik Chaman came to Āhār, and joined Malik Ilhadād. Malik Yusuf and Sidhāran and Hushyār were already suspicious of the treachery Kamāluddīn, and their suspicion increased; and they separated themselves from the army, and came to Dehli, and in the end of the month of Ramazān Malik Ilhadād and Malik Chaman with the other amīrs who were of the same opinion as themselves joined Kamāluddīn. The latter then with a great force turned towards Dehli and Sarwar-ul-Mulk shutting himself up in the fort of Dehli [4]fought with them for a period of three months.

At this time the news of the death of Zīrak Khān, Governor of Sāmānah, reached Dehli. His Jāgīr was entrusted to his son Muhammad Khān. Muhammad Shāh, although outwardly he remained on friendly terms with the people in the fort, yet waited for the right

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[1] This name is given as كسك and كبك in the MSS. Badāonī does not give his name at all. Ferishtah calls him كنك, Kank.

[2] There is a great deal of diversity and doubt about these names. I have adopted the reading which appeared to be the most correct on a comparison of the MSS and the lith. edn. Badāoni names Malik-ush-Shard Kamāl-ul-Mulk and Saiyad Khān, son of Saiyad Sālim as the two who were actually nominated, but Malik Yusuf, son of Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Sidhāran and Kānkū also were appointed to go with them. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) says that Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent Saiyad Khān and Sidhāran and Yusuf Khān his own son with Kamāl-ul-Mulk.

[3] Badāonī calls him Sarwar-ul-Mulk's Nāib, and says he was sent on the pretext of helping Malik Kamāluddīn, but really as a spy.

[4] Badāonī gives some details of the fighting.

moment and right opportunity for avenging the murder of his father; and Sarwar-ul-Mulk also being cognisant of this waited for an opportunity for murdering Muhammad Shāh Suddenly on the 8th of Muharram 838 A H (1434 A D) Sarwar-ul-Mulk and the sons of Mirān Sadr deceitfully and treacherously lifted up their swords, and came into the pavilion of Muhammad Shāh The latter, for fear of these, was always accompanied by a large body of his friends and well-wishers, and was always ready to fight They killed Sarwar-ul-Mulk on the spot, and seizing the sons of Mirān Sadr had them punished in front of the *darbār*

Couplet

The gazelle that seeks the lion to fight
The earth with its blood becomes tulip-red

Sidh Pāl and other base wretches shut themselves up, and prepared for battle Muhammad Shāh brought Kamāluddīn into the city Sidh Pāl[1] set fire to his house and making his wife and son food for fire, was slain By order of Muhammad Shāh, Sidhāran, Kānku and the [2]Khetris who had been seized were all punished with the [3]*khatirah* of Mubārak Shāh Malik Hushyūi and Mubārak Kotwāl were beheaded in front of the red gate

On the next day Kamāluddīn, with all the amīrs who were outside the fort, did fresh homage to Muhammad Shāh, and in concert with the people in general seated him. on the throne of sovereignty Kamāluddīn received the post of Vāzārat and the title of Kamāl Khān Malik Chaman received the title of Ghazī-ul-Mulk, and the districts of Amroha and Badāūn were confirmed to him as before. Malik Ilhadād Lodī did not accept any title for himself but took the

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[1] Badāonī is more explicit آتش تبع سده پالا ددىىكف أتش در هان مان ءود زد و گشت حوهر (که دربان هددی) مشهور اسف کرده حوسدگ پدوسب و علف

[2] There is some difficulty about this word The lith edn has کهرمابی and the MSS have بهربائي ، کهتربابی and کهدرماتي Badāonī has کهتریاں سدهارں کانکو و دنگر طایفه and Ferishtah has سدهارں با جمدع کهتدربان, from which it is clear that the doubtful word is کهتریابی As to the punishment Badāonī says کردند بردار سیاست, i e were impaled Ferishtah says بقتل رسددند بعقو بت تمام were put to death with great tortures

[3] خطیرہ literally means an enclosure, but here it means a tomb enclosed by walls or a palisade

title of Daryā Khān for his [1]brother, Malik [2]Khutarāj Mubārak Khāni got the title of Iqbāl Khān and the district of Hisār Firoza was confirmed to him as before, and all the Amīrs were honoured with rewards and increase of stipends The elder son of Saiyad Sālim got the title of Majlis-i-'Āli Saiyad Khān, and his younger son Shujā'-ul-Mulk, and [3]Malik Badah, 'Alā-ul-Mulk Malik Ruknuddīn was made Nasīr-ul-Mulk, and [4]Malik-ush-Sharq Hājī was made Shahna (Superintendent) of Dehli

In the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of the aforementioned year, Muhammad Shāh travelled towards Multān At the camp of Mubārakpūr most of the Amīrs such as [5]'Imād-ul-Mulk, and Islām Khān, and Muhammad Khān, son of Nasrat Khān, and Yusuf Khān Auhadī, and Iqbāl Khān, and all the royal servants came and joined him Muhammad Shāh, after making pilgrimages to the shrines of the Sheikhs of Multān, and leaving Khān-i-Khānān there, returned the

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[1] Only the MS has برادر خورد خورد, his younger brother, the other MSS, the lith end, Badāoni and Ferishtah all have only برادر خورد, his brother

[2] The name is doubtful and its meaning is not at all clear One MS has کهوتراج مبارک خان, other MSS The کهری تراج مبارک خان, the lith edn has کهوتراج مبارک خان Ferishtah has کهوتراج مبارک خانی, but Briggs does not give the name, but includes him among the rest of the nobles Badāonī does not name him at all

[3] He is called Malik Badah ملک بده in most of the MSS, but in one he is called Malik Saida and in one Malik Sadah, and ملک سده in the lith edn He is not mentioned either by Badāoni or by Ferishtah

[4] He is Malik-ush-Sharq Hājī or Jājī or Hājib in the MSS and in the lith edn He is not mentioned by Badāonī Ferishtah calls him حاجی صندلی المشهور بحسام خان Hājī Sandali-al-Mashhūr ba Hisām Khān Hisām Khān is of course repeatedly mentioned further on

[5] Badāoni does not give any names He simply says چند روز در مبارکپور توقف نمودند و امرای اطراف بدو ملحق شوند, i e he waited for a few days at Mubārakpūr, so that the Amirs of the provinces might join him
اکثر امرا در آمدن متامل گردیدند و چون عماد الملک از ملتان بدهلی رسید همه امرا و سران سپاه مثل اسلام خان لودهی و یوسف خان اوحدی و اقبال خان بدرگاه آمده بخلاع فاخره مباهی شدند, i e most of the nobles hesitated about coming, but when 'Imad-ul-Mulk came from Multān, all the Amīrs and commanders of armies, etc, such as Islām Khān Lodhi and Yusuf Khān Auhadī and Iqbāl Khān came to the court and were honoured with valuable robes of honour

same year to Dehlı and ın the year 840 A H (1436 A D) he marched towards Sāmānal, and sent an army agaınst [1]Sheīkhā Khokhar and after layıng waste his country came to Dehlı

In the year 841 A H (1437 A D) news was brought that owıng to the turbulence of a band of [2]Lankahs there was dısturbance ın Multān News also came that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had taken possessıon of some parganās, and the Rāy of Gwālıor and other Rāys were wıthholdıng payment of revenue As the veın of honour was not ın motıon ın Muhammad Shāh and ındolence and carelessness prevaıled on hım, a madness was produced ın every head and a hankerıng ın every heart —

Couplet

When the Shāh hıs domaın forgets to rule,
Every head doth hanker after ıt

Some of the [3]Mıwatī Amīrs summoned Sulṭān Mahmūd Khılјı, the bādshāh of Malwah, and ın the year 844 A H (1440 A D) Sulṭān Mahmūd arrıved ın Dehlı Muhammad Shāh havıng arrayed hıs troops sent hıs own son outsıde (the fort or the cıty) and made Malık Bahlol Lodī the commander of the vanguard Sultān Mahmūd Khılјı also sent hıs two sons [4]Sulṭān Ghıāsuddīn and Qadn Khān From mornıng tıll evenıng the dust of dısturbance and battle rose, and at nıght both partıes returned and took up theır posıtıon ın theır own places The next day Muhammad Shāh proposed peace In the

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[1] One MS has شدىعا , حسرب Badāonī also has Sheıkhā here, but Ferıshtah has Jasrat

[2] They are so called ın all the MSS (except ın one where they are called اىكاه which ıs evıdently a mıstake) and ın the Persıan text of Badāonī In the Persıan text of Ferıshtah they are called ىدكاه Col Rankıng calls them "the trıbe of Langāhs", and Col Brıggs "the Afghāns called Lunga"

[3] Some of the MSS have ىعضي مدواتىان , one has ىعصى امرا ميواتىان , the lıth edn has ىعصى امراى Badāonī has حاىه رادهاى مدوات

[4] All the MSS and the lıth edn prefix Sulṭān before the name of Ghıāsuddīn As to the second name they have Qadn and Fadn and Fadāīn Khān The lıth edn has قدر، Badāonī has Ghıāsuddīn wıthout the Sulṭān and Madn Khān, but Col Rankıng has Qadr Khān ın the translatıon and he says ın a note that "the text has مدن خان and MS A قدں حان ، but Ferıshtah has قدر خان and so has the Ṭabāḳāt Akbarı" Ferıshtah has Ghıāsuddīn and Qadr Khan but the MSS of the Ṭabāḳāt Aḳbarı that I have seen have not got Qadr Khān

meanwhile news was brought to Sulṭān Mahmūd that [1]Sulṭān Ahmad Gujrātī was advancing towards Mandu He, therefore, consented to a settlement, and turned back And this peace became the cause of a greater humiliation for Muhammad Shāh, in the eyes and in the hearts (of men) As Sulṭān Mahmūd started on his return journey Malik Bahlol Lodī pursued him and seized as plunder a [2]part of his camp equipage and heavy baggage Muhammad Shāh was very pleased with this service rendered by Malik Bahlol, honoured him with royal favours and called him by the name of son

In the year 845 A H (1441 A D) Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh marched towards Sāmānah, and having made Dibālpur and Lahore over to Malik Bahlol, and sending him to destroy Jasrat Khokhar, himself returned to Dehli Jasrat made peace with Malik Bahlol, and [3]gave him the pleasant hope of his becoming Sultān of Dehli The ambition of becoming the Sulṭān having entered his head, Malik Bahlol commenced to collect men, and summoned Afghāns from all sides and directions, and retained them (in his service) In a very

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[1] Badāoni does not say so He says سلطان محمود این معنی را غنیمت دانسته و خواب دیدن خرابی ملک مالوه را بهانه ساخته شباشب جریده بجانب مالوه کوچ کرد , i e Sulṭān Mahmūd taking advantage of this (i e of the proposal of peace) and making a pretext of having seen the ruin of the kingdom of Mālwah in a dream, started at night in light order for Mālwah Both the Sulṭāns appear to have vied with each other in pusillanimity According to Ferishtah, however, Sultān Muhammad was the worse coward of the two He says, that in spite of the pomp and vast number of his army, Sulṭān Muhammad repeatedly said that there was no necessity of his mounting to face the enemy, that his troops gained a victory mainly through the bravery of Bahlol Lodī, that in the night Sulṭān Mahmūd had his dream, and in the morning heard of the invasion of Māwah by Sulṭān Ahmad, but he could not for very shame propose terms of peace, when Sulṭān Muhammad without any reason or necessity and without consulting anybody sent proposals of peace

[2] Ferishtah says جمعی کثیر را بقتل رسانید و مال و منال بسیار بدست آورده آبروی لشکر دهلی نگهداشت , i e slew a large body and seizing much property and wealth preserved the honour of the Dehlī army

[3] Badāoni has به بشارت سلطنت دهلی مبشر ساخت Ferishtah says و جسرت دهلي تر غیب داد و ملک بهلول در ولایت لاهور بعاقبت قوي شده افغانان بسیار برو جمع آمدند کهکر بار طریق دوستی پیموده بادشاهی It appears that the wily Jasrat, like the witches in Macbeth, all hailed Bahlol as Sultān of Dehlī

short time a great multitude joined him, and he took possession of many parganās in his neighbourhood, and laying the foundation of hostility with Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh, with little ostensible reason, with great pomp and power, marched on Dehli and having besieged it for a considerable time, returned without attaining his object The [1]affairs of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh declined from day to day, and things came to such a pass that Amīrs who were within twenty *Karohs* of Dehli, having turned their heads from obedience (to Dehli), openly declared their independence At last in the year [2]847 A H (1443 A D) Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh returned the deposit of his life to its giver The period of his reign was ten years and some months.

Verse

Such is the custom of the revolving age,
It gives now kindness and hardship now,
To hope from it for faith and loyalty,
Is like to hope for light from dim [3]Suhā,
For two days is its fickle unstable love,
No sign there is in its face of faith and truth

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[1] Ferishtah also has سلطان محمد شاه روز بروز سستي پذيرفته Col Briggs leaving out the first two words translates the rest, as becoming day by day weaker, as if the passage referred to the Sulṭān's health

[2] All the MSS give 847 A H as the year of his death The lith edn has 844 A H which is manifestly incorrect Badāonī has 847 A H as the year of the Sulṭān's death, but he gives him a reign of 14 years and some months which is certainly incorrect Ferishtah says Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh died in 849 A H Col Ranking thinks that Ferishtah's date is probably correct and has a fairly long note in support of it He says that there is no evidence to show that Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn ascended the throne in 847 A H and as Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne in 837 A H and Ferishtah says he reigned for 12 years, he must have died in 849 A H , but there is no reason, why if Ferishtah made a mistake about the year of Muhammad Shāh's death he should not have made a mistake about the length of his reign also Col Ranking says we should accept Ferishtah's plain and coincident statement The difficulty however is that neither Ferishtah himself nor any other historian says what happened in the five years between 845 A H and 849 A H There is of course a similar difficulty about there being no mention of any event between 845 A H and 847 A H supposing that to be the correct date of Muhammad Shāh's death and between 847 A H and 850 A H when Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn marched towards Sāmānah

[3] Suhā is the name of an obscure Star in the Lesser Bear

SULTĀN 'ALĀUDDĪN, SON OF MUHAMMAD S̲H̲ĀH, SON OF MUBĀRAK S̲H̲ĀH, SON OF K̲H̲IZR K̲H̲ĀN

On the death of Sulṭān Muhammad S̲h̲āh the Amīrs and the great officers of State seated his son on the throne of sovereignty, giving him the title of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn [1]Malik Bahlol and all the Amīrs did homage to him Within a short time it became clear that Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn was even less intelligent, and weaker in affairs of state than his father The madness in the brain of Malik Bahlol became stronger

Couplet

When he sees that from the [2]serpent there's no fear,
The wise from the treasure does not his hand withdraw

In the year 850 A H (1445 A D) Sultān 'Alāuddīn rode out towards Sāmānah, and while he was on his way, news reached him that the badshāh of Jaunpur was marching to attack Dehli The Sulṭān returned quickly and came to Dehli [3]Hisām K̲h̲ān who was the Vazīr of the empire, and the regent during the absence of the Sulṭān, represented (to the latter) that the return of the Sulṭān, merely on hearing a false rumour of the approach of the enemy, was not befitting to the dignity of his state Sultān 'Alāuddīn was vexed and pained at these words, which were contrary to his disposition In the year 851 A H (1447 A D) he moved towards Badāūn, and after staying there for some time returned to Dehli He then declared that he was pleased with Badāūn, and wished to stay there permanently Hisām K̲h̲ān again, out of the sincerity of his heart, explained to him, that to abandon Dehli, and to make Badāūn the seat of the throne was not advisable for his good The Sulṭān was still more vexed at these words, and separating him from himself, left him in Dehli.

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[1] This agrees with Badāonī وملک بهلول لودي با امرای دیگر در بیعت در آمد i e and Malik Bahlol Lodī with the other Amīrs came to do him homage Ferishtah, however, makes a contrary statement He says بیعت کردند جمله امرا غیر از ملک بهلول لودهی به تمکاه امده i e all the Amīrs, except Malik Bahlol Lodhī, came to the foot of the throne and did homage

[2] The allusion is to the fable that hidden treasures are guarded by serpents

[3] Badāonī does not mention this representation or remonstrance of Hisam K̲h̲ān Ferishtah does, Hisām Khān is later mentioned by Badāonī, as عمدة الملک وهوا خواه سلطان and has his right name in the Persian text, but in the English translation he is changed to Husain K̲h̲ān

He made the two brothers of his wife one the Shahnah (Superintendent) of the city, and the other the Superintendent of the roads

Couplet

He had no skill in affairs of state
Shame and disgrace he got from the hands of fate.

Again in the year 852 A H (1448 A D) he went to Badāūn, and there giving himself up to sensual pleasures, was contented with the small tract of country that was under his rule After a time there was enmity between the two brothers of his wife, who were in Dehli, and they fought with each other, and one of them was killed On the following day the people of the city, under the instigation of Hisām Khān, killed the second brother in revenge for the death of the first At this time the Sulṭan on the [1]instigation of treacherous men attempted to put Hamīd Khān, who was the Vazīr, to death, and he fled and coming to Dehli joined Hisām Khān, and took possession of the city and summoned Malik Bahlol to take up the empire, and the details of this brief account will be mentioned in the history of Malik Bahlol In short [2]Malik Bahlol Lodī came with a large force to Dehli and took possession of it After a few days he left a body of his well-wishers at Dehli, and himself marching towards Dibālpur, commenced to collect an army He also sent a representation to Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn to say that he was only striving for the good of the Sulṭān, and he knew himself to be the slave of the latter Sultān 'Alāuddin wrote in reply "As my father called you by the name of son and I have no anxiety for provision for my few wants, I am contented with the one parganah of Badāūn, and am giving up the empire to you"

[1] Col Ranking says that Ferishtah gives a full account of the attempt on Hamīd Khān's life and says that Qutb Khān and Rāy Pertab, the latter of whom had a blood feud against Hamīd Khān, instigated the Sulṭān The author of the Ṭabākāt Akbari (from whom no doubt Ferishtah copied it) gives the same account only he does so in his account of the reign of Sulṭān Bahlol Lodī

[2] According to Badāonī Bahlol Lodī after he had been made Sulṭān at Dehli went in the absence of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn to Sirhind and there assumed the title of Sulṭān and had the *Khutbah* read in his name, he then came with a large force to Dehli and took possession of it, and then again left the capital in charge of his Nāib and went to Dibālpur to raise an army

Couplet

Without the headache of the lance and the drawing of the sword,
The object, which was the hankering for dominion, was attained

Malik Bahlol with victory and daily-increasing prosperity, and finding that the garment of sovereignty fitted his stature, achieved his purpose He came from Dibālpur to Dehli and seating himself on the throne of empire, assumed the title of Sulṭān Bahlol Among the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, those who had joined him, had their stipends confirmed and made permanent After some time Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, made the [1]last journey, and the world became the possession of Sulṭān Bahlol The period of his (Sultān 'Alāuddīn's) reign was seven years and some months

[2]SULTĀN BAHLOL LODĪ

It is current from tradition, that Malik Bahlol is the nephew of Sulṭān Shah Lodi who had the title of Islām Khān, and was one of the great Amīrs of Khizr Khān and Sultān Mubārak Shāh and ruled in Sirhind As he saw signs of ability and nobility in his nephew, Islām Khān brought him up as his son, and about, the end of his life having appointed him to be his successor, passed away Islām Khān had a son of the name of Qutb Khān He turned his head aside from submission to Malik Bahlol, and went to Sulṭān Muhammad The latter sent [3]Hajī Shudnī who had the title of Hisām Khān, with a large army against Malik Bahlol The two parties fought at the village

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[1] The year of his death is not mentioned in the Ṭabākāt Badāonī says it took place in 855 A H According to Ferishtah, however, although his reign as emperor terminated in 855 A H, he lived for quite a long time afterwards apparently in peaceful and contended obscurity in Badāūn and did not die till 883 A H (1418 A D) having ruled in Badāūn for 28 years

[2] The heading is given as above in all the MSS (except one which omits Lodi), in the lith edn and in Ferishtah Badāonī has Sulṭān Bahlol son of Kālā Lodi but one MS of Badāonī omits کالا ں

[3] The name is very doubtful Two of the MSS and the lith edn have حاجی شدنی as I have given it in the text The other MSS have حاجی شرنی Hāji Sharni or حاجي شرفی Hāji Sharfi or حاجي شرقي Hāji Sharqī Badāonī does not mention these transactions at all Ferishtah says, Muhammad Shāh first sent Malik Sikandar Tuhfa with a strong army in support of Qutb Khān Bahlol Lodī divided his followers in three parts, an engagement took place, and the Afghāns were defeated Bahlol had not, however, been present at the battle He now became

of [1]Kadha, one of the villages in Parganah Khizrābād and [2]Sadhorah, and Hisām Khān was defeated and went back to Dehli Malik Bahlol then acquired much strength and power

They say that one day in the beginning of his career, Malik Bahlol went with two friends to Sāmānah There was a *darvesh* there of the name of Saiyad [3]Ibn Malik Bahlol with his two friends went to pay their respects to the holy man, and sat down respectfully The [4]absorbed one said, is there any of you who would buy the bādshāhī of Dehli for two thousand *tangahs* ? Malik Bahlol had one thousand and six hundred tangahs in his bag He brought it out, and placing it in front of the darvesh said "I have not more than this " The *Faqir* accepted it and said "may the bādshāhī be auspicious for thee " His companions jested with and mocked him He said in reply "This cannot but be one of two things If this story comes true, I shall have made a very cheap bargain, and if it is does not, to do a service to a darvesh is surely not devoid of profit "

Couplet

The wayfarers on the spiritual path when they see true piety,
Bestow the empire of Kāūs and the dominion of Faridun on a *faqir*.

And what is mentioned in some histories that Malik Bahlol had been engaged in trade, has no foundation whatever Probably his paternal ancestors, were traders and used to come to Hindustān

In short, Malik Bahlol with his uncle Malik Firoz, and all his relations was in possession of the district of Sirhind and acquired great power and strength From the words of the darvesh which he had

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a free-booter and collected many Afghāns and some Mughals and again took possession of Sirhind It was then that Hisām Khān was sent against him Ferishtah does not give any other name of Hisām Khān (see however note 4 p 326)

[1] The name is given as كده in most of the MSS and in Ferishtah In the lith edn and in one of the MSS it is written as اكره

[2] It is Sādhorah سادهوره in most of the MSS and in the lith edn Ferishtah has Shāhpūrah

[3] The MSS give the name as given in the text سد ابن The lith edn has only بن without the prefix سد Ferishtah calls the darvesh Saidā سدا He says that Bahlol went to Sāmānah (or Samānal as he calls it) on a visit to his uncle Islām Khān, and then went to the darvesh

[4] The word used both in the Ṭabāḳāt and in Ferishtah is مجذوب i e one who is absorbed (in the love or contemplation of God)

in his mind from youth, and from the incitement of Jasrat Khokhar as has been narrated already, the bird of empire having laid an egg in his brain, he began to extend his territories After his victory over Hisām Khān, Malik Bahlol sent a representation to the Sulṭān, containing an account of the unpleasantnesses of Hāji Shudnī, and his own sincerity and loyalty, and also mentioned in it, that if the Sulṭān should put Hāji Shudni to death and confer the post of Vazīr on Hamīd Khān, his slave (i e he himself would be a loyal servant Sulṭān Muhammad without any consideration and hesitation put Hisām Khān to death and made Hamīd Khān his Vazīr

Doubtless from fate he would enmity see,
Who his friend, without reason, would slay

The Lodīs now came forward with sincerity and did homage to the Sulṭān, and their *Jāgīrs* were confirmed to them afresh. After Malik Bahol had fought against Sulṭān Mahmūd Mālwī on the side of Sulṭān Muhammad, he was honoured with the title of Khān-i-Khānān Gradually the Lodīs, feeling stronger, took forcible possession of Lahore and Dibālpur, and Sunām and Hisār Firozāh and other parganās, and acquired very great power and influence They had also become hostile, on account of their having taken possession of Lahore and Dibālpur without the permission of Sulṭān Muhammad, so they now raised the standard of enmity, and advanced on Dehli against Sulṭān Muhammad They besieged Dehli for a long time, but being unable to take it returned to Sirhind Malik Bahlol then assumed the title of Sulṭān, but [1]postponed the insertion of his name in the public prayer and the minting of coin in his own name, till the conquest of Dehli At this time Sulṭān Muhammad died, and Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn was placed on the throne by the endeavours of the Amīrs and the great men of the kingdom

Couplet

How excellent are [2]empire and wealth, with their heads
  hanging down
The father's gone and the son's foot is in the stirrup.

[1] This agrees with what Ferishtah says, who has almost the same words as the author of the Ṭabākāt Badāonī is sightly different He says سلطان دسر هند رفته خطاب سلطانی بخود قرار داده خطبه بخواند ، this was, however, after he had taken possession of Dehli and been raised on the throne by Hisām Khān and Hamīd Khān

[2] Some of the MSS have زهی ملک و دولت که سر در نشیب I have adopted this

At this tıme the whole of Hındustān beıng ın the possession of different trıbes, the Lodīs had acquıred very great power [1]Āhmad Khān Mıwātī was ın possessıon (of the terrıtory) from Mehroutī as far as Lādū Sarāı, which ıs close to the cıty of Dehlı The Lodīs held the terrıtory of Sırhınd and Lahore as far as Pānīpat Darya Khān Lodī was the ruler of the terrıtory of Sambal to the lord of Khwājah-ı-Khızr whıch ıs adjacent to the cıty of Dehlı 'Īsa Khān Turkbacha held Kol Qutb Khān, son of [2]Hasan Khān, was the ruler of [3]Rābrī Rāy Partāb was ın possessıon of the towns of Bhongāon, Batıalı and Kampılā Bıānah was ın the possessıon of Daūd Khān Auhadī And Gujrāt, and Mālwah and the Deccan and Jāunpūr and Bangālah each had an ındependent bādshāh Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had the cıty of Dehlı and a few vıllages; and he was bādshāh wıth thıs terrıtory !

Sulṭān Bahlol after collectıng an army came a second tıme from Sırhınd to Dehlı He could not capture the cıtadel of Dehlı, so he went back to Sırhınd At thıs tıme Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had a consultatıon wıth Qutb Khān, and Īsā Khān, and Rāy Partāb, as to how he mıght strengthen hıs own posıtıon They told hım ın reply, "ıf the Sulṭān would ımprıson Hamīd Khān and dısmıss him from the post of Vazīr, we would seıze a few parganās from the Amīrs, and add them to the Sulṭān's domınıon" The Sultān ordered the arrest of Hamīd Khān

Couplet

As ıf to the rose one saıd that amongst the bırds of thy garden,
Thou hadst none but the bulbul, why dost thou keep ıts wıngs tıed up ?

Other MSS and the lıth edn have سر در نشدب رهی ملک دوراں سر در نشدب (lıt) head hangıng down, ı e all topsy turvey

[1] These dıvısıons and the names of the rulers are gıven ın Ferıshtah ın hıs account of the reıgn of Sulṭān 'Alauddīn Col Brıggs says "Thıs descrıptıon of the terrıtorıal dıvısıons ıs extremely useful Besıdes these Kandeısh, Sınd and Multān had each ıts separate Mahomedan Kıng" He, however, makes no attempt to ıdentıfy the places The dıvısıons are not mentıoned by Badāonī

[2] He ıs Hasan Khān ın some MSS and Husen Khān ın others

[3] Rābrī ıs varıously given as , رابری Rābrī, , راپری Rāpri, ,' ربری Rabrī and رپری Raprī

The Sulṭān then started from Dehli and came to [1]Burhānābād near Mārharah Qutb Khān and Isa Khān and Rāy Partāb there rendered homage to him, and said that they would include forty parganās in the Sulṭān's dominion on condition that he would put Hamīd Khān to death As before this Fateh Khān, father of Hamīd Khān, had laid waste Rāy Partab's territories and had taken possession of his wife, the latter incited the Sulṭān to put Hamīd Khān to death on account of this old enmity, Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn who had no acquaintance with the administration of an empire, gave the order for the death of Hamīd Khān without any deliberation or delay The brother of Hamīd Khān and his friends however, obtained his release from imprisonment by such stratagems as they could think of He fled and came to Dehli Malik Muhammad Jamāl who was his jailor or guard pursued him, and arriving at his house attacked it. He was however wounded by an arrow and slain and a large body of men gathered round Hamīd Khān There was a great disturbance and uproar and turmoil. Hamīd Khān entered the harem of the Sulṭān, and driving out his wives, daughters and sons with [2]bare uncovered heads from the citadel of the city, took possession of the treasures and paraphernalia of sovereignty Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn on account of the wretchedness of his fortune, delayed the taking of all revenge from day to day, and remained in Badāūn, on account of the rains

Hamīd Khān taking advantage of this, began to think of placing another on the throne instead of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn As Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, the bādshāh of Jaunpur, was a [3]relation of Sulṭān

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[1] One of the dependencies of Itāwah Mārharah is given variously as بارهره , Bārhraah, پارهره , Parharah and مارهره Mārharah It appears to have been a township in the Doāb

[2] Ferishtah says, حمید خان بحرم بادشاه در آمده زنان و دختران و پسران بادشاه را بیرون کشید و همه را سر و پای برهنه در غایت اهانت و بیعزتی از حصار شهر بیرون کرده خزائن و اسباب بادشاهی را متصرف شد i e Hamīd Khān entered the haram of the bādshāh and dragged out the wives and daughters and sons of the bādshāh and drove them out of the citadel of the city with their heads and feet uncovered with the greatest insult and disgrace, and took possession of the treasure and the paraphernalia of the bādshāhī

[3] Sulṭān Hasan Sharqī one of the sons of Sulṭān Mahmūd Sharqī was married to Malkah-i-Jahān, a daughter of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn

'Alāuddīn he did not consider it proper to summon him Sultān Mahmūd, the bādshāh of Māndu, was at a distance The Lodīs were near He summoned Malik Bahlol who was at Sirhind, and the latter came to Dehli with a large force after making terms and conditions Hamīd Khān gave the keys of the citadel to Malik Bahlol The latter sat on the throne of sovereignty on the [1]17th of the month of Rabī-ul-āwwal, 855 A H (1451 A D)

[2]*Quatrain*

On this turquoise throne every morn and eve,
One die of fortune is shaken to the goal of success,
None has this fortune and this die borne away,
Nor with full joy, the fruits of sovereignty did taste

At that time Sultān Bahlol had [3]nine sons, viz , Khwājah Bāyezīd, his eldest son, Nizām Khān who took the title of Sultān Sikandar, Bārbak Shāh, Mubārak Khān, 'Ālām Khān celebrated as Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Jamāl Khān, Miān Y'aqub Fateh Khān, Miān Musa and Jalāl Khān, and he had [4]thirty-four Amīrs and relations, viz , Qutā Khān, son of Islām Khān Lodī, Daryā Khān Lodī, Tātār Khān, son of Daryā Khān Lodī, Mubārak Khān Lohānī, Tātār Khān Yusuf Khail, Umār Khān Sharwānī, Qutb Khān, son of Hasan Khān Āfghān, Ahmad Khān Miwātī, Yusuf Khān Jilwānī, Ali Khān, son of Yusuf Khān Jilwānī, Ali Khān Turkbacha, Sheikh Abu Sa'īd Farmulī, Ahmad Khān Shāmī, Khān-i-Khānān Lohānī, Shams Khān Vazīr Khān, Khan-i-Khānān, son of Ahmad Khān, Sheikh Ahmad Khan Sharwānī, Nihang Khān, Lashkar Khan Shahāb Khān, Dabir

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[1] Badāonī gives the year of the accession 855 A H but not the date Ferishtah says he was already in possession of Dehli for some time, but he removed the name of Sultān 'Alāuddīn from the Khutbah and openly and formally declared himself to be the Sultān, on the 17th Rabī'-ul-āwwal 855 A H

[2] One MS calls these lines a مثنوی but others and the lith edn call them verses

[3] Although our author and Ferishtah both say that Bahlol had nine sons, they both give ten names Col Briggs gives only nine names, by omitting Mubārak Khān

[4] Ferishtah also says 34 but Col. Briggs says 36 The names given above generally agree with those in Ferishtah The latter, however, prefixes the title of Khān-Jahān Lodī to the name of Daryā Khān Lodī, substitutes Yusuf Khān Khās Khail for Tātār Khān Yusuf Khail, omits 'Ali Khān, son of Yusuf Khān Jalwānī, etc , etc

Mubāríz Khān Bahta, Rustam Khān, Junān Khān, son of Malik Ghāzī, Miān Chaman, son of Khān-i-Jahān, Hisām Khān Daur (?), 'Imad-ul-Mulk, Iqbāl Khān, Miān Farīd, Mīan M'aruf Farmulī Rāy Partāb, Rāy Kilan and Rāy Karan.

Sulṭān Bahlol, outwardly, was adorned with piety, and was completely bound in obedience to the law of the prophet. In all matters he followed the path of the law, and was very enthusiastic in attending to justice and equity. He passed a great part of his time in the society of learned men and in the company of faqīrs, and considered it right to show kindness to the poor and needy. In short, when Sulṭān Bahlol came to Dehli, Hamīd Khān had much pomp and power. He (Bahlol) considered it [1]advisable at the time to show consideration and gentleness to him, and everyday he went to offer him salutation. One day he became a guest of Hamīd Khān and he instructed the Afghāns, to do certain acts which should be remote from reason and intelligence, so that he might consider them to be simple, and fear and respect for them might leave his mind, and he might not be careful about them. When the Afghāns came into the place of assembly, they commenced behaving in a strange manner. Some of them placed their shoes on a shelf above Hamīd Khān's head. Hamīd Khān said, "what conduct is this?" They said, "we are keeping them in safety from thieves." After a time the Afghāns said to Hamīd Khān, "Your floor coverings have wonderful colours. If you would kindly give us one blanket from these, we would have caps and [2]fillets made out of it for our sons, and send them as valuable presents, so that the people of the world would know that we had acquired much honour and dignity in the service of Hamīd Khān." Hamīd Khān smiled and said, "I shall make presents of fine fabrics to you for this purpose." When (the attendants) brought fragrant dishes into the place where they were, some of the Afghāns licked up the gravies, and ate the flowers, and some of them opened the packets of betel-leaves and ate the lime alone and when their mouths

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[1] It is rather difficult to understand why Malik Bahlol acted in this puerile way. He could apparently have got rid of Hamīd Khān and need not have told his Afghāns to act in this grotesque way.

[2] The world is طاقیه which means a fillet specially one worn round a head dress.

were burnt, they threw down the packets from their hands Hamīd Khān asked Malik Bahlol, why they were behaving in this way He replied that they were foolish rustics, and had been very little among men They have no skill except in eating and in dying.

Another day, Malik Bahlol was Hamīd Khān's guest It was the custom that when Malik Bahlol went into the house, a few went in with him, and most of his men stood outside On this occasion, when Malik Bahlol became a guest, the Afghāns at his instigation kicked the gate-keeper, and forcibly entered the house, and said, 'We are also servants of Hamīd Khān, why should we not be allowed to salute him ?' As there was a noise and uproar, Hamīd Khān inquired of the reason He was told that the Afghāns were abusing Malik Bahlol and were saying 'we are also servants of Hamid Khān, just like Malik Bahlol, he has come inside, why should we also not do so and make our salutations to him ?' Hamīd Khān said, 'leave them alone '

Couplet

No more for life do you dare hope,
If in your garment you keep a snake

The Afghāns rushed in, in a crowd and two of them went and stood by the side of each of the attendants of Hamīd Khān who were round him At this time Qutb Khān Lodī brought out a chain from his bosom, and placing it before Hamīd Khān said, "it is advisable that you should remain in seclusion for a few days, on account of the right of salt I do not make an attempt on your life " They seized Hamīd Khān and made him over to guards Malik Bahlol then took possession of Dehli without any prohibition or enmity from anybody, had his name inserted in the Khutbah (public prayer) and Sikkah (coin), and assumed the title of Sulṭān Bahlol He then wrote to Sultān 'Alāuddīn, "I was brought up by your father, and in reality, I am giving currency and dignity to the affairs of the government, which had got out of control, as your agent, and I do not strike off your name from the public prayer " The Sulṭān wrote in reply "my father called you son, I consider you as my elder brother, I am leaving the empire to you and will be contented with Badāūn " Sultān Bahlol having now fully attained his object, commenced to attend to the affairs of the government, and the same year, he marched to

Multān and that neighbourhood in order to regulate the affairs of those districts

The Amirs of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn who were dissatisfied with the Lodīs, having obtained the empire, summoned Sulṭān Mahmūd Sharqī from Jaunpur and in the year 856 A H (1452 A D) Sultān Mahmūd arrived in Dehli with an immense force, and besieged it Khwājah Bāyezīd, son of Sultān Bahlol shut himself up with other nobles Sulṭān Bhalol on hearing the news returned from Dibālpur and encamped at the village of [1]Nalīra, which is fifteen *karohs* from Dehli, and his troops seized and brought away some [2]camels and bullocks which had been sent to the pastures from the army of Sultān Mahmūd The latter deputed Fateh Khān [3]Harawi with thirty thousand horsemen and thrity elephants to attack Sulṭān Bahlol The Lodīs divided themselves into three armies and commenced the battle Qutb Khān Lodī who was a specially distinguished archer wounded the elephant which led the vanguard of Fateh Khān's army and made it useless, so that it had to be withdrawn from the battle Qutb Khān Lodī said in a loud voice to Dariyā Khān Lodī who had joined Sultān Mahmūd and was arraying the troops, "Your mothers and sisters are shut up in the fort Is it fitting that thou shouldst fight on the side of a stranger, and shouldst not protect the honour (of your own people) " Dariyā Khān said, "I am going, do not you pursue me " Qutb Khān took an oath Dariyā Khān turned his face, and at once on his doing so, Fateh Khān was defeated and taken prisoner As Fateh Khān had killed [4]Pīthorā, brother of Rāy Karan, the latter

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[1] That is the name according to the MSS (except one which omits the name altogether) and in the lith edn Badāonī does not mention the place at all Ferishtah calls it Bīr

[2] The readings are difficult Some of the MSS and the lith edn have دو بار شتر و گاوی . Other MSS have پاره شتر Ferishtah has اشتران و گاوان بارکش لسکر محمود شاه سرقی which gives the best meaning 'some camels and bullocks which carried loads belonging to the army of Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī '

[3] This word is given as هربوئی . Harbūī, هرتوای and هروی Harawī This last which means 'of Herāt' is the correct reading

[4] The different readings are بهتواری . Bahtuārī, سه اسوار , Seh Sawār, پتهورا Pīthorā and بهنو Bhaneu in the MSS and in the lith edn Ferishtah has بهتواری Badāonī does not mention the details of the battle at all I have

severed Fateh Khān's head and brought it to Sulṭān Bahlol Sulṭān Mahmūd was unable to bear this calamity and retired towards Jaunpur

After this, Sulṭān Bahlol having acquired stability, became strong and powerful, and [1]marched out for putting his dominions in order He went first to Miwāt Āhmad Khān Miwāti went forward to receive him, and declared his allegiance The Sultān took seven parganās out of his possession and left the remainder with him Ahmad Khān Miwātī placed Mubārak Khān, his uncle, permanently in the service of the Sulṭān The latter then went from Miwāt to Baran Dariyā Khān Lodī, the ruler of Sambal, also came and tendered his submission and allegiance, and gave up seven parganās as a tribute The Sulṭān came from there to Kol, and confirmed it to 'Isā Khān as before When he arrived at Burhānābād, the ruler of Saket came to render service and his jāgīr was also not taken from him In the same way the territories of Rāy Partāb, ruler of Bhongāon, were left with him The Sulṭān then went to the fort of Rāprī Qutb Khān, son of Hasan Khān, the ruler of the fort shut himself up in it, but in a short time, it was captured Khān-i-Jahān gave his word to Qutb Khān and brought him to the Sultān, and his Jāgīrs were confirmed to him From that place he went to Itāwah, and the ruler of that place also declared his allegiance

At this time[2] Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī again came to attack Sulṭān Bahlol and encamped in the territory of Itāwah On the first day the two armies fought with each other The next day Qutb Khān and Rāy Partāb proposed terms of peace and it was settled that whatever had been in the possession of Mubārak Shāh, bādshāh of Dehli should belong to Sulṭān Bahlol, and whatever had been in the possession of Sultān Ibrāhīm Bādshāh of Jaunpur should appertain to Sulṭān Mahmūd, and Sulṭān Bahlol should send back the seven elephants belonging to Sulṭān Mahmūd which had fallen into his hands at the time of the defeat of Fateh Khān Harawi

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taken Pithorā which was the name given by Musalmān historians to Prithvī Rāj of Delhi

[1] Ferishtah agrees generally in the account of Sultān Bahlol's progress Badāonī does not mention it at all

[2] Ferishtah copies this almost word for word Badāonī is very brief

It was also settled that Sultān Bahlol should at the end of the rains take Shamsābād from Junā Khān, who was the Governor there on behalf of Sulṭān Mahmūd.

After this Sultān Mahmūd went to Jaunpur, and Sulṭān Bahlol sent a *farman* to Junā Khān that at the appointed time, he should march out of Shamsābād. The latter did not comply and Sulṭān Bahlol went against him; he fled. Sulṭān Bahlol gave Shamsābād to Rāy Karan. Sultān Mahmūd, on hearing this news, came to Shamsābād to attack Sulṭān Bahlol. Qutb Khān and Dariyā Khān Lodī then made a night attack on the army of Sulṭān Mahmūd. Accidentally Qutb Khān's horse [1]stumbled and Qutb Khān fell off and was taken prisoner. Sultān Mahmūd sent him to Jaunpur, and he remained in prison for seven years. Sultān Bahlol left Shāhzādah Jalāl and Shāhzādah Sikandar and 'Imād-ul-Mulk to fight with the army of Sultān Mahmūd and to help Rāy Karan, who was in the fort, and himself engaged in warfare with Sultān Mahmūd. But at this time the latter became ill, and gave up his life.

Verse

In this glass, there is sugar and poison too,
It eats up life now, and now nourishes it.
On the head of one, it places a crown of gold,
Another enviously with sword it smites.
Its malice is not in right place, nor is its love,
No softness in this, nor loyalty in that.

Bibī Rājī, his mother, with the consent of the Amīrs placed Shāhzādah Bhīkhan Khān on the throne of empire and gave him the title of Muhammad Shāh. Peace was concluded between the two bādshāhs, and they bound themselves by an agreement that the territories of Sulṭān Mahmūd should be in the possession of Sultān Muhammad, and Sulṭān Bahlol should continue to hold whatever was in his possession. Muhammad Shāh went to Jaunpur and Sultān Bahlol returned to Dehli. When he came to the neighbourhood of Dehli, Shams Khātun, the sister of Qutb Khān, sent him a message to the effect that as long as Qutb Khān should remain in Muhammad

[1] All the MSS and the lith edn have حورد ىدري Ferishtah has سكدرى حورد

Shāh's prison, rest and repose and sleep should be unlawful for the Sultān The latter was grieved at this, and returning from [1]Dhankur, marched towards Jaunpur to attack Sultān Muhammad The latter also started from Jaunpur When he reached Shamsābād, he took it from Rāy Karan, who was its Governor under Sultān Bahlol, and made it over to Junā Khān Rāy Partāb who had formerly been united with Sultān Bahlol, seeing Muhammad Shāh's power joined him Muhammad Shāh came to Sarsutī; and Sulṭān Bahlol encamped at Rābrī near Sarsutī, and for some-time they fought with each other Muhammad Shāh wrote an order to the Kotwāl of Jaunpur from Sarsutī directing him to put to death, his (i e the Sulṭān's) brother Hasan Khān, and Qutb Khān, the son of Islām Khān Lodī The Kotwāl sent a representation to the effect, that Bībī Rājī protected them both in such a way, that he was unable to put them to death When Muhammad Shāh got this writing, he summoned his mother from Jaunpur, so that she might conclude a peace between him and Hasan Khān, and give a part of the kingdom to the latter Bibī Rājī then started from Jaunpur The Kotwāl put Shāhzādah Hasan Khān to death, in accordance with the *farman* of Muhammad Shāh Bībī Rājī performed the mourning ceremonies for Hasan Khān in Kanouj, and waited there, and did not go to Muhammad Shāh The latter wrote to his mother that as all the Shāhzādahs would have the same fate his revered mother should do the mourning for all of them at once

Muhammad Shāh bādshāh was wrathful and blood-thirsty The Amīrs were in dread and terror of him One day Shāhzādah Husen Khān, his brother, in company with Sulṭān Shāh and Jalāl Khān Ajodhanī informed him, that Sultān Bahlol's army intended to make a night attack on them and taking with them thirty thousand horsemen and thirty elephants separated themselves from Muhammad

[1] The name of this place is given as دیکود Dikūd, دتهکور , Dathkūr, دنکور, Dīnkur and دهنکور Dhankur, in the MSS and in the lith edn Badāoni only says that as his cousin Qutb Khān had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muhammad Shāh, Sulṭān Bahlol in contravention of the existing treaty went to attack Muhammad Shāh He does not mention Shams Khātun's appeal to Sulṭān Bahlol Ferishtah does, but he says that on receiving her message, the Sulṭān did not go to Dehli but went towards Jaunpur He does not mention the place whence he changed the direction of his journey

Shāh's army with the avowed intention of marching against the enemy, and remained on the bank of a [1]waterfall Sulṭān Bahlol hearing this news sent an army against them Shāhzādah Husen Khān wanted to take Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān with him and sent somebody to summon him At this time Sulṭān Shāh said that it was not advisable to wait there Jalāl Khān would come up to them from behind, and they started in the direction of Kanouj It happened, that the army of Sulṭān Bahlol that had been deputed against them, came up and occupied the place which they had previously occupied Shahzādah Jalāl Khān left the army of Muhammad Shāh in compliance with the summons of Husen Khān, and started towards the waterfall, and on arriving there thought the army of Sultān Bahlol to be that of Shāhzādah Husen Khān, and went close to it Sultān Bahlol's troops seized him, and took him to Sulṭān Bahlol and he knowing that he would be an exchange for Qutb Khān kept him in confinement Muhammad Shāh being unable to meet him took the road of Kanouj Sultān Bahlol pursued him as far as the river Ganges and taking a part of his equipage and war-material returned

When Shāhzādah Husen Khān in the year 855 A H (1451 A D) came to his mother Rājī Bibī, he was placed on the throne by her exertions and those of the chief men of the Sharqī Kingdom, as has been narrated in the Sharqī section, by the gem-stringing pen [2]Malik Mubārak Gung, and Malik 'Ali Gujrātī and other Amīrs were sent against Muhammad Shāh, who had encamped on the bank of the Ganges, near the fort of Rājgar When the army of Sultān Husen Khān arrived, some of the Amīrs, who were with Muhammad Shāh, separated from him Muhammad Shāh fled with a few horsemen, and went into a garden which was in that neighbourhood and he was besieged there

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[1] All the MSS and the lith edn say در کنار جهرنه استادند Ferishtah says از معسکر بر آمده عطف عنان کرده بقنوج رفت i e coming out of the (i.e. Muhammad Shāh's) army, and turning their bridle, went to Kanouj, He does not say that Husen Khān summoned Jalāl Khān, but he says that the latter when he came afterwards, was taken prisoner by some Amīrs sent by Sulṭān Bahlol

[2] These incidents are not mentioned by Badāoni or Ferishtah, at least in the general history

Verse

When fortune did him yet befriend,
A steel plate was like felt before his shaft
When fortune no longer did him help,
His arrow could not pierce the softest silk

As Muhammad Shāh was a powerful archer, he took up his bow and arrows Bībī Rājī had made matters straight with his armourer, and had removed the heads of the arrows in his quiver All the arrows that Muhammad Shāh drew from his quiver came out of the quiver without heads At last taking up his sword, he slew some men Then an arrow shot by Mubārak Gung struck him in the neck, and he fell from his horse and died

Verse

Mother earth hath not a son that she slayeth not,
Never lay thy heart on this son-slaying witch
Death on the fated day, not beggar regards nor king,
Empire gives not greatness, and greatness is of no use
Assume that all the world, from east to west is thine
[1]On the day of anguish, will not death from thee it take ?

After that Sultān Husen made peace with Sultān Bahlol, and they entered into an agreement that for four years both of them should be contented with their own dominions Rāy Partāb who had before this joined Muhammad Shāh, was encouraged by Qutb Khān Afghān to join Sultān Bahlol When Sultān Husen marching from Kanouj came to a reservoir which is called [2]Hariyah and encamped there, he sent for Qutb Khān Lodī from Jaunpur and having honoured him with the gift of a horse and a robe of honour and other favours, sent him with all honour and respect to Sultān Bahlol The latter also made Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān happy with honours and favours, and sent him to Sultān Husen

[3]After some time Sultān Bahlol marched towards Shamsābād,

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[1] The readings of the last line are different in the different MSS I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the best

[2] The name is given as هریه , Hariyah, هرحه , Harhah, هرهمه , Harhamah, and هرسه , Harsah, in the MSS and in the lith edn

[3] Ferishtah says بعد از چند گاه که انقضای مدت موعود شده بود i e after

and taking that place from Junā Khān made it over to Rāy Karan, and at that place [1]Narsingh Rāy, son of Rāy Partāb, came and did homage to Sulṭān Bahlol. Before this, Rāy Partāb had taken by force a lance (which in those days, was considered to be of the status of a standard of a chief), and a kettledrum from Dariyā Khān. The latter in revenge for that put Narsingh, his son, to death with the consent of Qutb Khān. About this time [2]Qutb Khān, son of Husen Khān Afghān, and Mubāriz Khān Behtah and Rāy Partāb united with Sulṭān Husen Sharqī. Sulṭān Bahlol did not now have the strength to meet him, and he returned to Dehli.

After a few days Sulṭān Bahlol marched towards Multān in order to put affairs in the Punjab into order, and to suppress the rebellion of the Governor of Multān, and left Qutb Khān Lodī and the Khān-i-Jahān in Dehli as his deputies. Sultān Bahlol was yet on his way when they sent him news that Sulṭān Husen with a well-equipped army and elephants of mountain-like size was advancing towards Dehli. [3]He returned quickly and came to Dehli, and going forward to meet the enemy opposed him at Chandwāī, and for seven days the armies of the two sides fought against each other. At this time Ahmad Khān Miwātī and Rustam Khān, Governor of Kol, joined Sultān Husen and Tātār Khān Lodī joined Sulṭān Bahlol.

After this when the warfare and slaughter went on for a length of time it was settled by the exertions of the chief men (of the two kingdoms) that for three years, the two bādshāhs should be contented with their own kingdoms, and should not engage in any further wars with each other.

After this settlement [4]Sulṭān Husen besieged Itāwah. Sultān

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sometime when the term agreed upon had passed. We have seen that that term was four years.

[1] The name is given as ٮرسنگه , ٮرسنگه without any dots above or below the first letter and هرسنگه. Ferishtah has نرسنگه, and I have adopted that. Badāonī does not mention the incident.

[2] These names are also given by Ferishtah, but he omits the suffix to Mubāriz Khān's name.

[3] The account given by Ferishtah agrees mainly with the account given here. He only adds that Sultān Bahlol left Qutb Khān Lodī Khān-i-Jahān in charge of affairs in the Punjab.

[4] Ferishtah says that Sulṭān Husen besieged Itāwah after the expiry of the

Bahlol came to Dehli and stayed there for three years occupying himself with the affairs of his kingdom and his army Within this period, Sulṭān Bahlol marched against Ahmad K͟hān Miwātī, who before this had joined Sultān Husen When he arrived in Miwāt, K͟hān-i-Jahān who was one of the great Amīrs of Sulṭān Husen gave hopes of favour to Ahmad K͟hān, and took him to Sultān Husen About this time, Ahmad K͟hān, son of Yusuf K͟hān Jilwānī, the Governor of Biānah, had the public prayer read in Biānah in the name of Sultān Husen

As the period of three years had now elapsed Sultān Husen advanced towards Dehli with a [1]hundred thousand horsemen and one thousand elephants Sultān Bahlol came out of Dehli and met him near the town of [2]Bhatwārah K͟hān-i-Jahān intervened and effected a settlement After that Sultān Husen went to Itāwah, and remained there, and Sulṭān Bahlol went to Dehli [3]After a short time Sulṭān Husen again attacked Sultān Bahlol The latter came out of Dehli and near Rāysingh the two armies met and fighting went on for a few days, and at last there was peace Sultān Husen went towards Itāwah and Sultān Bahlol returned to Dehli

At this time Bibī Rājī, the mother of Sultān Husen, died at Itāwah [4]Kalyān Mal, son of Rāy Karan Singh, Rājā of Gwālior, and Qutb K͟hān Lodī, who had gone from Chandwār to Gwālior, went to Husen S͟hāh

three years, and he took Itāwah from its ruler, who was a relation of Sulṭān Bahlol He also drew Ahmad K͟hān Miwātī and Rustam K͟hān, Governor of Kol, and Ahmad K͟hān Jilwānī to his side

[1] These numbers agree with those given by Badāonī (Persian text) and Ferishtah Col Ranking, however, reduces the number of the horsemen to ten thousand

[2] The name is given as مقوره Matura, نهواره Nahwārah and بهتواره Bhatwārah in the different MSS The lith edn has تهدواره Thhanwārah Badāonī (Persian text) has بهتواره and Col Briggs and Col Ranking both have Bhatwarah Ferishtah (Persian text) has تهواره Thhawārah

[3] This is not mentioned by Badāonī The name of the place where the fighting took place is given in the different MSS as رایسنگه Rāysingh, زمکهر Zamkhar, and رنگهر Ranghar The lith edn has رالشکر Ralshkar Ferishtah has سنبهره, and Col Briggs Sunkur

[4] Badāonī does not mention this Ferishtah says that the Rājā of Gwālior and not his son, and Qutb K͟hān Lodī went to Sulṭān Husen Sharqi to join in the mourning for the death of his mother

As Qutb Khān found that Sulṭān Husen had great enmity towards Sulṭān Bahlol, he began to flatter him and said, "Sulṭān Bahlol is like one of your servants He cannot be your equal and I shall not rest till I bring Dehli into your possession " He then by various artifices took his leave of Sulṭān Husen, and came to Sulṭān Bahlol, and told him "I have freed myself from the clutches of the Sulṭān by deception and plotting I found him to be very strong in his hostility to you You should look after yourself"

At this time Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn passed away in Badāūn [1]Sulṭān Husen went there from Itāwah to join in the mourning for him, and after the mourning ceremonies, took Badāun from the son of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn into his own possession He allowed himself to act in this ungenerous way From that place he went to Sambal, and imprisoning [2]Mubārak Khān, son of Tātār Khān, the Governor of that place sent him to [3]Saran He came then with a powerful army and one thousand elephants and in the month of Zi-hijjeh [4]883 A H (1479 A D) he encamped on the bank of the Jumna near the ford of [5]Kunjah Sulṭān Bahlol sent Husen Khān son of Khān-i-Jahān, towards Mirāt, and himself came to Dehli from Sirhind They fought with each other for a time The Sharqī was very powerful on account of their greater number and strength At last Qutb Khān sent a man to Sultān Husen, with a message to the effect that he was a slave of Bibī Rājī who had received many favours from her When he was a prisoner at Jaunpur various acts of beneficence had been done

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[1] Badāoni says that Sultān Husen was the son-in-law of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn He says در دداري در گدشت سلطان علاؤ الدين كه دحتر او ملكه جهان در حبالهٔ سلطان حسين بود i e Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn whose daughter Malkah-i-Jahān was married to Sultān Husen passed away in Badāūn

[2] Badāoni says it was Tātār Khān who was the Governor and who was imprisoned Ferishtah gives the named of Mubārak Khān but does not give his father Tātār Khān's name

[3] Badāoni calls the place Sāran There is a variant شاران in the Persian text of Badāoni

[4] Badāoni says this happened in 880 A H, but the correct year is given in the Ṭabākāt and in Ferishtah

[5] All the MSS have كنجه Kunja The lith edn has كهنه which means old Badāoni has كنجهه Kiohah but another MS has گنجينه Ganjīnah Ferishtah has كچهه Kachha

towards him by that chaste lady Now it was advisable that Sultān Husen should conclude peace and return to Jaunpur, and the territory on the other side of the Ganges should belong to him, while all that was on this side should be left to Sulṭān Bahlol The two parties agreed to this and the disputes ended Sulṭān Husen trusting to the treaty started, leaving his equipage behind Sulṭān Bahlol seizing the opportunity pursued him and plundered a part of the equipage of Sulṭān Husen, and a quantity of treasure and much chattel which had been loaded on horses and elephants fell into his hands About forty famous Amīrs belonging to Sulṭān Husen's army, such as [1]Qutlugh Khān Vazīr, who was the most learned of the learned men of his own time and [2]Būdhū, the pay-master of the forces and others like these were taken prisoners Qutlugh Khān was placed in chains under the charge of Qutb Khān Lodī and Sultān Bahlol went in pursuit (of Sultān Husen), and took possession of some parganās belonging to the latter, viz, [3]Qasbā-i-Kambal and Patiālī, and Shamsābād and Saket, and Kol, and Mārharah and Jalālī and appointed an officer in charge of each As the pursuit went beyond limit, Sultān Husen turned back at a village called [4]Ārām Mahjūr one of the depend-

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[1] His name according to Badāoni was Qazi Samā-ud-din Ferishtah calls him قتلغ خان وزیر که از علمای وقت بود

[2] This name is variously given in the MSS as اوستو Āustū, اودهو Āudhu, and اوسو Āusu The lith edn has او چهو Āutchū Badāoni has not got the name Ferishtah has ملک بدهو Malik Budhu I have adopted بو دهو as it may easily be changed to او دهو by writing the ا as ب

[3] Badāoni says, he himself pursued him as far as Shamsābād in the Doāb, which had been in the possession of Sulṭān Husen, and took possession of that country, and appointed his own officers Ferishtah names the parganās of which he took possession He gives the first four and the sixth names as in the text He has omitted Kol and for Jalālī he has Jalesar As all the MSS and the lith edn have Jalālī, I have retained it

[4] The name of this place is given as آرآم Ārām in some of the MSS in one it is آرآم مهجور Ārām Mahjūr, in another آرآم لهجو Ārām Lahju The lith edn has آرآم بخو which may be Ārām Bakho or Ārām Najo Badāonī does not give the name He says the battle took place در نواحی راپری, in the vicinity of Rāpri Ferishtah has رام پنجهره Rām Punjhrah Col Briggs has Rampinjim

encies of Rāprī and gave battle, but at last an amicable settlement was made, on the condition that the two Sultāns should remain contented with their own territories and the ancient boundaries. After the conclusion of peace Sultān Husen went to Rāprī and Sulṭān Bahlol came to [1]Dhobāmau.

After some time Sultān Husen again collected a large force and came to attack Sultān Bahlol, and there was a fierce battle in the vicinity of [2]Sonhār, and Sulṭān Husen was again defeated.

Quaṭ'ain

If fortune's dull what profits a mighty bow
With fortune, the arrow strikes home, in the battle line
Many brave-hearted warriors, when fortune was low,
Were worsted in war by a pusillanimous foe.

An inestimable quantity of wealth fell into the hands of the Lodīs, and became the cause of a great increase in the strength and splendour of Sultān Bahlol. Sultān Husen again went to Rāprī, and Sulṭān Bahlol encamped near Dhobāmau. At this time the news of the death of Khān-i-Jahān who was at Dehli reached Sultān Bahlol. The Sultān conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān on his son and confirmed him in his father's position. From the place he went to Rāprī and attacked Sultān Husen, and after battle and slaughter he was distinguished by victory and triumph. In the course of the flight and the crossing of the river Jumna, some sons and other members of the family of Sultān Husen were drowned in the sea of destruction.

Sultān Husen then proceeded towards Gwālior. In the neighbourhood of [3]Hatkant a band of Bhadwariahs, attacked and plundered

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[1] Two of the MSS have دهوبامو Dhobāmau, and the others have دهويا Dhoyā and دمونا, Dumonā. The lith. edn. has هرپامو Harpāmau. The Persian text of Badāonī does not say where Sulṭān Bahlol stayed, but it appears from a note in the English translation that two MSS. say that he stayed at Dhopāmau. Ferishtah says that it was settled that mouzah Dhopāmau should be the boundary, that Sulṭān Husen went to Rābrī and Sulṭān Bahlol returned to Dehli.

[2] All the MSS. and the lith. edn. and Badāonī have Sonhār. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has سهارن Sahāran and Col. Briggs has Sirsar.

[3] Hatkānth is said by Abul Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar, a district to the south-east of Agra. Its inhabitants were called Bhadwariahs. They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, managed to maintain their inde-

his camp When, however, he reached Gwālior [1]Rāy Kīrat Singh, Rājā of Gwālior, came and offered his submission and behaved like a servant towards him He offered as tribute some lakhs of *tangahs*, in cash, and some tents and pavilions, and some horses and elephants and camels, and placing himself in the band of his well-wishers, and sending an army to accompany him, [2]came with him as a dependant as far as Kālpī While these things were happening, Sultān Bahlol went and [3]attacked Itāwah Ibrāhīm Khān, brother of Sulṭān Husen and Haibat Khān *alias* Malik Kankar shut themselves up and fought for three days, but at last asked for quarter, and surrendered Itāwah Sulṭān Bahlol placed it in charge of Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Mubārak Khān [4]Lohānī He conferred several parganās belonging to the territory of Itāwah on Rāy [5]Dāud as his remuneration and went with a large force to attack Sultān Husen When he arrived in the village of Rākānau, one of the dependencies of Kālpī, Sultān Husen advanced from Kālpī to meet him, and they passed several months in skirmishes At this time Rāy Tilok Chand, ruler of the territory of [6]Baksar, came to Sultān Bahlol, and took him to a place where there

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pendence, till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant Āīn-i-Akbari (B) 1488 Elliot, Races of N W P vol I, p 23 (quoted from note 1, p 408, of Col Ranking's translation of the Muntakhabat-ut-tawārīkh)

[1] Badāonī calls him رای کدرب سدگ حاکم گوالار Ferishtah does not give his name but calls him the Rājā of Gwālior Gīrat Sing is of course incorrect Kīrat Singh is a good variant of Sans कीर्त्ति सिह

[2] Both our author and Badāonī says متابعت کرد Ferishtah has دو متابعت Col Ranking thinks that مشایعت is perhaps better than متابعت I think متابعت is quite good

[3] This attack on Itāwah is not mentioned by Badāonī Ferishtah mentions it, and gives the names of Ibrāhīm Khān and Haibat Khān He gives the alias of the latter as Karkar without the Malik

[4] Several MSS and the lith edn have this word as نو حانی Nūhānī

[5] This name is given as داند , Dānd, داندو , Dāndo, and داندوه Dāndwah Ferishtah has داندوه Dāndwah Col Briggs omits the passage

[6] Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, 34 miles south-east of Unās town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre at Cawnpur in 1857, see Hunter Imp Gaz p 450 Ferishtah has کتهر Khatehar or Rohilkhand, in place of Baksar

was a ford, where he crossed the river Sulṭān Husen being unable to meet him retired into the territory of [1]Bīhtah

Verses

The tiger, that has felt the blow of a lion's paw,
Would not a second time in front of it stand,
The hawk that from a falcon's claws its prey has drawn
After that on the hunting field thinks it a pigeon poor

The Rājā of Bīhtah came forward to meet him, treated him with humane consideration, and offered him a tribute of some lakhs of *tangahs*, and some horses and elephants, and sending some troops with him, attended him to Jaunpur

After that Sultān Bahlol again raised the standard of determination, and turned to Jaunpur When he arrived near it, Sulṭān Husen abandoned the place, and retired to Kanouj by the way of Bahraich Sulṭān Bahlol also moved towards Kanouj, and they met on the bank of the Rahab In the battle, a defeat which had now become almost natural to Sultān Husen fell on him, and his regalia and paraphernalia of empire fell into the hands of the Lodīs His honoured wife [2]Bībī Khunza, who was the daughter of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, the [3]grandson of Khizr Khān was also taken prisoner Sultān Bahlol protected her with great honour and consideration, and after some time when he again went to conquer the kingdom of Jaunpur Bibī Khunza managed, by some stratagem, to obtain her release, and returned to her husband On this occasion, Sultān Bahlol seized Jaunpur and gave it to Mubārak

[1] All the MSS and the lith edn have بيهته Bihtah Badāonī has بهته Bhatta as Col Ranking transliterates it It may, however also be Bihta Ferishtah has تهته, Thathah which Col Ranking thinks is correct and has adopted I think Bihtah more probable There is a Bithur near Cawnpur where the Nānā Sāhib used to live This may be the place

[2] She is called حونزا in several MSS and حونرا in others Badāonī has حونزه in the text though the MSS read حونس را and حونزا which come to the same thing Ferishtah has حونزه which Col Briggs and Col Ranking have adopted Is she the same as Malkah-i-Jahān, (see note 1, p 348)

[3] Sultān 'Alāuddīn was really the great grandson of Khizr Khān He was the son of Muhammad Shāh who was the son of Mubārak Shāh (or of Farīd Khān) who was a son of Khizr Khān Bibi Khunza was therefore the daughter of the great grand-son of Khizr Khān and cannot be called the grand-daughter of the latter, as Col Ranking has called her

Khān Lohānī, and leaving some other Amīrs, such as Qutb Khān Lodī and Khān-i-Jahān and others like them in the town of [1]Majhaulī, marched towards Badāūn Sultān Husen, finding it a fit opportunity, came with a great force to Jaunpur, and the Amīrs of Sulṭān Bahlol, abandoning Jaunpur, went to Qutb Khān in Majhaulī, but they did not stop there also, and going to Sultān Husen in the way of sincerity, spoke words expressive of goodwill towards him and passed the time with courtesy and gentleness till the arrival of reinforcements Sulṭān Bahlol became aware of the discomfiture of his troops that were with Qutb Khān Lodī, sent Bārbak Shāh, his son, to their assistance and himself also went towards Jaunpur behind him Sulṭān Husen, being unable to oppose him, retired to Behār

When Sultān Bahlol reached the town of Haldī, he heard the news of the death of Qutb Khān Lodī He spent some days in performing the rites of mourning, and then went to Jaunpur There he placed Bārbak Shāh on the throne of the Sharqī Kingdom, left him there He then marched to Kālpī and made over that territory to [2]Ā'zam Humāyūn, the son of Shāhzādah Khwājah Bāyezīd Then he went to Dholpur by way of Chandwār The Rāy of Dholpur, came forward to welcome him, and offered some *mans* of gold as tribute, and became one of his well-wishers When Sultān Bahlol came near parganā [3]Bārī, Iqbāl Khān the ruler of that place performed the rites of service and was enrolled in the class of his servants He also offered some *mans* of gold as tribute and Bārī was confirmed to him From that place Sultān Bahlol went to

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[1] Two of the MSS have مهجولی Mahjoulī, and third has مجهولی Majhaulī in one place, but مجدولی in the other, another has مجهولی Majhoulī The lith edn has محموتی Mahmutī Badāonī has مهجولی Mahjaulī Ferishtah has, according to Col Ranking مجبولی , but in the lith edn of Ferishtah which I have the place is called مجهولی , Majhaulī There is a village called Majhaulī in the Gorakhpur district on the bank of the Gandak Hunter's Imp Gaz IX, 213

[2] Badāonī describes 'Ā'zam Humāyūn as نام داشت برادر زاده دیگر که خواجه بایزید which Col Ranking translates quite correctly as another nephew who had the name of Bāyezīd, but Badāonī is of course wrong Both in the Ṭabāḳāt and in Ferishtah Ā'zam Humāyūn's correct relationship to Sulṭān Bahlol is given, and this has been pointed out by Col Ranking in a note

[3] Ferishtah does not mention either Bārī or its ruler Iqbāl Khān, and Badāonī only says that Sultān Bahlol passed through it

[1]Alhanpur, one of the dependencies of Ranthhambore and he plundered the territory of Alhanpur and laid waste the orchards and cultivated land in it and then came to Dehli.

And after a few days there, he went to Hisār Firozah, and stayed there for some months, and then again came to Dehli After some time, he started towards Gwālior Rājā Mān, the ruler of Gwālior, submitted to him, and offered eighty *lakhs* of *tanghas* as tribute. He confirmed Rājā Mān in the territory From that place the Sulṭān went to Itāwah, and taking away that territory from [2]Sakat Singh, son of Rāy Dando, returned On the way he became ill and died near Mouzāh [3]Tilāwali one of the dependencies of parganā Saket in the year 894 A H (4188 A D) The period of his reign was thirty eight years and eight months and eight days

Verse

Whether it is Afrāsiāb or the [4]son of Zāl,
He will meet with punishment, at the hand of fate,
To the cup which the cup-bearer has measured.
It is not in human power to add a drop

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[1] Two of the MSS have الهنپور, Alhanpur quite distinctly, another has اسهنپور, which may be read as Alhanpur or Ashanpur Another has اسپنور which is apparently a mistake The lith edn has الپنور Alanpur which is almost the same as Alhanpur One MS and the Persian text of Badāoni have Alhanpur Col Ranking has, however, followed Ferishtah and adopted Ilāhīpur The lith edn of Ferishtah which I have seen has اله پور Ilahipur

[2] He is not mentioned by Badāoni Ferishtah has Saket Singh but as most of the MSS and the lith edn has سکت سنگه Sakat Singh, I have retained it Besides Sakat Singh or शक्तसिंह has a meaning

[3] Two MSS have تلاولی Tilāwali, one has تلاولی or بلاولی Tilāwali or Bilawali and one has ملاوه malāwah The lith edn has بلاولی Bilāwali Badāoni does not give the name of the place Ferishtah as بهدوالی Bhadwālī, Col Ranking has adopted Bhadāuli from the text of Ferishtah which he has seen He also says in a note "that Sakit is in the Etah district of the N W Provinces and it is here according to Hunter (Imp Gaz XII 146) that Bahlūl Lodī died Abul Fazl says that he died near the township of Sakath, but places Bhadawāli in the Sarkār of Sāhār in the Agra Sūbah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkar of Kanouj (see Āin-i-Akbari, Jarrett. II 309 p 3) I have preferred to keep Tilāwali

[4] The same verses are to be found in Badāoni, but there is a most curious mistake in Col Ranking's translation of the first line which is 'whether it be Afrāsiāb or his son Zāl', according to which Zāl instead of being father of Rustam, the Persian Champion (پور زال son of Zāl, is of course Rustam) is converted into the son of Āfrāsiāb.

Whether it is the king, or a seller of [1]grass
The angel to his ear, the sound of death will bring.

And they have written this quatrain to record the date of his death.

Quatrain

In eight hundred ninety-four departed from the world,
Bahlol the King, that conquered countries and the world.
With his sword, he conquered the earth, but the angel of death.
'T was impossible to defy with sword and dagger bright

Sulṭān Sikandar, son of Sulṭān Bahlol Lodī

When Sulṭān Bahlol entrusted the deposit of life to the holder of souls, [2]Sh̲āhzādah Nizām Kh̲ān was in Dehli Exceeding the wind in quick motion, he went to the town of Jalālī, with the hearse of Sulṭān Bahlol and sending the corpse of the latter to Dehli placed himself on the throne of sovereignty, on an eminence on the bank of the Ab Siah (i e the black river or the Kālī Nadī) which is called the palace of Sulṭān Firoz near the town of Jalālī, on Friday, the 17th of Sha'bān in the year 894 A H (1488 A D) with the consent of Kh̲ān-i-Jahān, Kh̲ān-i-Kh̲ānān Farmulī, and all his father's amīrs and assumed the title of Sulṭān Sikandar

Verse

When the moon hid her face behind the veil of blue,
The sun above the horizon raised his face
The Jasmine dropped but the [3]pomegranate bloomed,
Each blossom in the garden opens in its turn

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[1] The word actually used is خس فروش, the seller of *khas*, which is a kind of fragrant grass, *andropogan muricatum*, of which screens are made, which are hung before doors and kept wet with water for cooling rooms in the hot season, by the air which passes through them These screens are commonly called *khas khas tattis*

[2] There was considerable opposition to the accession of Nizām Kh̲ān or Sulṭān Sikandar owing to his mother having been a goldsmith's daughter, but Kh̲ān-i-Kh̲ānān Farmulī espoused his cause (see Brigg's Ferishtah and Col Ranking's translation of Badāonī, p 412, note 2).

[3] The Persian word is ارغوان I cannot find out what it is. The dictionary says it is a tree with a red flower and a red fruit

Sulṭān Bahlol had at that time [1]six sons, Ibrāhīm Khān, and Jalāl Khān, and Ismāil Khān, and Husen Khān, and Mahmūd Khān, and Sheikh Ā'zam Humāyūn, and he had [2]fifty-three notable Amīrs, Khān-i-Jahān, son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodī, Ahmad Khān, son of Khān-i-Jahān Mubārak Khān Lohānī, Mahmūd Khān Lodī, 'Isā Khān, son of Tātār Khān Lodī, Khān-i-Khānān Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmulī, Khān-i-Khānān Lohānī, Ā'zam Humāyūn Sharwanī, Dariyā Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lohānī, Nāib of Bihār, 'Ālam Khān Lodī, Jalāl Khān, son of Mahmūd Khān Lodi, Nāib of Kālpī, Sher Khān Lodī, Mubārak Khān Lodī Musā Khail, Ahmad Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lodī, 'Imād, son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī, Umar Khān Sharwānī, Bhīkhan Khān, son of Ālam Khān Lodī, Governor of Itāwah, Ibrāhīm Khān Sharwānī Muhammad Shāh Lodī, Bābai Khān Sharwānī, Hasan Farmulī, Nāib of Sāran, Sulemān Farmulī, second son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī, Sa'īd Khān Lodī, son of Mubārak Khān Lodī, Isma'el Khān Lohānī, Tātār Khān Farmulī, 'Usmān Khān Farmulī, Shaikhzādah Muhammad, son of 'Imad Farmulī, Sheikh Jamāl 'Usmān, Sheikh Ahmad Farmulī, Ādam Lodi, Husen Khān, brother of Ādam Lodi, Kabīr Khān Lodī, Nasir Khān Lohānī, Ghāzī Khān Lodī, Tātār Khān, Governor of Jāthra,[3] Moulanā Juman Kambu, *hijāb khas*, Majd-ud-dīn, *hijāb khas*, Shaikh 'Umar, *hijāb khas*, Shikh Ibrāhīm, *hijāb khas*, Maqbil, *hijāb khas*, Qāzī Abdul Wāhid, son of Tāhir Kabuli, [4]*hijāb khas* (gentleman-in-waiting), [5]Bhūrah son of Khawās Khān, Khwāja Nasrullah, Mubārak Khān, Iqbāl Khān, Governor of the town of Bārī, Khwāja Asghar, son of Qawām, Governor of Dehli Sher Khān, brother of Mubārak Khān Lohanī, 'Imād-ul-Mulk Kambu, appertaining to Dariyā Khān Lohānī who had been Mīr 'Adal or chief Judge

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[1] That is omitting Nizām Khān According to Ferishtah, Sulṭān Bahlol had nine sons at an earlier period but the list given by him contains ten names

[2] There is considerable differences in the names I have tried to make a correct list, but I doubt if I have succeeded Lohānī is sometimes written نوحانی Nohānī or Nuhānī in the MSS

[3] The place is جتھرا Jathra, جہتره Jahtra, جهره Jharah, and جهتوه Jhatwah in the MSS and the lith edn Ferishtah has تجاره Tijāra

[4] Ferishtah has nine persons described as Hijāb Khās, Col Briggs calls them Lords of the bed chamber

[5] Ferishtah has بهوره خاص , Col Briggs has Miān Bhoory

After some time Sulṭān Sikandar marched towards parganā Rāprī, [1]Ālam Khān, the brother of the Sulṭān, remained shut up for a few days, in the fort of Rāprī and Chandwār; but in the end he fled and went to [2]'Isā khān, son of Tātār Khān Lodī in Patiālī The territory of Rāpri was conferred on Khān-i-Khānān Lohānī The Sulṭān went to Itāwah, and passed seven months there He went for 'Ālam Khān and brought him to his side, and separating him from 'Āzam Humāyūn gave the territory of Itāwah to him He sent [3]Isma'il Khān Lohānī to Bārbak Shāh, *bādshāh* of Jaunpur, for effecting peace, and himself went and attacked Isa Khān, Governor of Patiālī The latter after some fighting was wounded, and in the end came humbly and offered his submission He died afterwards of his wounds

Rāy[4] Ganesh who had been on the side of Bārbak Shāh came and joined the Sulṭān The districts of Patiālī were allotted to him The Sultān then went and attacked Bārbak Shāh The latter went from Jaunpur to Kanouj, and the two sides engaged each other, and after some fighting [5]Mubārak Khān was taken prisoner, and Bārbak Shāh

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[1] Ferishtah says that before his death Sulṭān Bahlol divided his kingdom in the following way he gave Jaunpur to Shāhzādah Bārbak Shāh, Karāh and Mānikpur to Shāhzādah 'Alam Khān, Bahraich to his sister's son Sheikh Muhammad Farmulī, who became famous as Kālīpāhār and Lucknow and Kālpī to 'Āzam Humāyūn, the son of Khwājah Bāyezīd his own eldest son who had before this been killed by one of his *khidmatgārs*, Badāūn to Khān-i-Jahāni who was one of his trustworthy Amīrs and was also related to him, and Dehli with vast territories in the Doāb to Shāhzādah Nizām Khān whom he made his heir and who afterwards became Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī

[2] Isā Khān was Sulṭān Sikandar's cousin and had strongly opposed his succession

[3] The name is spelt as اسمائیل خان and اسمعیل خان It is not clear what kind of peace the Sulṭān wanted

[4] The name is given as رای کندس Rāy Kanes in all the MSS and in the lith edn The two MSS of Badāonī have رای کسن Rāy Kishun and رای کندس Rāy Kanes and the text has رای گندش Rāy Ganesh Ferishtah has رای کلن Rāy Kilan Col Ranking has adopted Rāy Ganesh, and I have followed him

[5] Badāonī says Mubārak Khān Lohānī who was with the army of Bārbak Shāh was taken prisoner It appears that Muhammad Khān Farmulī, called the Kālā Pāhār or the black mountain, was also taken prisoner in the battle See note 1, Elliot IV, 456 for a curious anecdote about the generous way in

being defeated went to Badāūn The Sulṭān pursued and besieged him Bārbak Shāh then made his submission with great humility The Sulṭān shewed him favour and made his heart glad, and took him with himself to Jaunpur and placed him, as before, on the Sharqī throne, but he divided the parganās appertaining to the kingdom among his own Amīrs, and [1]everywhere left his own officers and employed trustworthy men in his service

From that place he went to Kotlah and Kālpī and taking away Kālpī from Ā'zam Humāyūn, son of Shāhzādah Khwājah Bāyezīd, allotted it to Muhammad Khān Lodī From there he went to [2]Jathra Tātār Khān, the Governor of Jathra, performed the duties of allegiance and fealty, and the government of the place was confirmed to him He then moved towards the fort of Gwālior, and sent Khwājah Muhammad Farmulī with a special robe of honour to Rajā Mān of that place The latter also behaving with humility sent his nephew to attend on the Sulṭān with direction to accompany him as far as Biānah Sulṭān [3]Sharf, Governor of Biānah, son of Sulṭān Āhmad Jilwānī also came forward to offer homage The Sulṭān ordered him to give

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which he was treated by Sulṭān Sikandar when he was taken prisoner, and his gratitude towards the Sulṭān in consequence Ferishtah also mentions the incident

[1] The meaning of the passage is not quite clear The readings vary slightly One MS leaves out و در خدمت او معتمدان گماشت and several leave out the word او after خدمت The corresponding passage in Badāoni is امراء در گماشتن او موکل گردانید , اما پرگنات ولایت را بامرای خود تقسیم نموده هر جا و معتمدان را در , from which it will be seen that according to Badāonī, he left detachments of troops and not officers The difficulty as regards the passage in the text consists in the word او ; either حکام خود or حکام از طرف خود would have been clearer, and also in the word او Who is referred to ? If it is the حکام then the proper pronoun would be ایشان Col Ranking thinks that these officers were left to control Bārbak Shāh

[2] See p 356, note 3 Col Ranking has adopted Jahtarh from Ferishtah, but says he has failed to locate it

[3] The name is given as شرف or اشرف in the MSS and the lith edn The text of Badāoni reads سلطان الشرق MSS A and B read سلطان الشرق . Ferishtah has سلطان شرق Col Ranking has adopted سلطان شرق in one place and a few lines later on, سلطان شرف

up Bīānah, so that in exchange for it Jalesar, and Chandwār, and Mārharah, and Saketh might be conferred on him Sulṭān Sharf took 'Umar Khān [1]Sharwānī with him to Bīānah, so that he might make over the keys of the fort to him When he came to Bīānah, however, he broke his promise, and strengthened the fort Sulṭān Sikandar came to Agra Haibat Khān Jilwanī who was one of the retainers of Sultān Sharf shut himself up in the fort of Agra The Sulṭān left some Amīrs to continue the siege of Agra, and himself went again to Bīānah, and made very great efforts in besieging it When Sulṭān Sharf was reduced to great straits, he humbly prayed for quarter And in the year 897 A H (1491 A D), Bīānah was taken, and the territory was allotted to Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī Sulṭān Sharf was expelled from the place, and went to Gwālior The Sulṭān returned to Dehlī and remained there for twenty-four days

At this time news came, that the Zamindārs of the territory of Jaunpur, and [2]Bachgotis, and other men numbering about a lakh of foot-soldiers and horsemen had collected together, and Shīr Khān brother of [3]Mubārak Khān had attained to martyrdom (i e had been killed by them), and Mubārak Khān also, when he was crossing at the ferry of [4]Josī Prāk, which is at the place where the city of [5]Ilhābād (Allāhābād) has now been established, and is one of the cities founded by Hazrat Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī (the emperor Akbar), was taken prisoner

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[1] All the MSS and the lith edn have سروانی Sarwānī but I have adopted شروانی Sharwānī following the remaining MS, as that is the name of the tribe as given in previous passages

[2] A tribe of Rājputs said to be descended from the Mainpūrī Chauhāns notorious for their turbulence, originally Muhammadans (see Elliot, Races of N W P, p 47) It appears from the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī (Elliot, IV, p 457), that they were led by a Hindu named Jūgā

[3] Mubārak Khān Lohānī, Governor of Karra

[4] Probably Prāk is a corruption of Prayāg, the Hindu name for Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna Ferishtah has پرسنی پہال I find that there is a place in Allahabad, which is now known as Jhunsi which probably is identical with the Josī in the text Badāonī a few lines later has بپاک in the text, and بباک and پہاب in the two MSS

[5] Written in some MSS as الہا باس Ilhāyās

by the [1]boatmen [2]Rāy Bhīd Rājā of Patna becoming aware of this took Mubārak Khān from his captors and kept him in prison Bārbak Shāh becoming aware of the power of these men came from Jaunpur to Muhammad Farmulī, who was known as Kālā-pāhār at Darīābād

Sultān Sikandar again in the year 897 A H (1491 A D) marched in that direction, and after crossing the river Ganges, he came to [3]Dalmau Bārbak Shāh with all his Amīrs came to attend on him and was honoured with favours and kindnesses Rāy Bhīd was so impressed with awe at the splendour of the arrival of the Sultān, that he released Mubārak Khān Lohānī, and sent him to attend on the Sultān The latter marched from there to [4]Kahtar There the Zamīndārs assembled in large numbers, and offered opposition, but at the end were defeated and many became food for the sword and the rest were dispersed Much booty fell into the hands of the Sultān's troops The Sultān then went to Jaunpur, and again leaving Bārbak Shāh there, returned He spent about a month in the neighbourhood of Audh in travelling about and hunting When he arrived in Kahtar, news was brought to him that Bārbak Shāh was unable to remain in Jaunpur, owing to the turbulence of the Zamīndārs The Sultān ordered that Muhammad Farmulī and Ā'zam Humāyūn and Khān-i-Khānān Lohānī should march to Jaunpur by way of Audh, and Mubārak Khān by way of Agra, and seizing Bārbak Shāh, should send him to the Sultān They in compliance with the orders, went to Jaunpur, and seizing Bārbak Shāh sent him to the Sultān When Bārbak Shāh was brought to the presence, the Sultān

[1] According to the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī in (Ell , IV p 457) Mubārak Khān was taken prisoner by Mullā Khān Of course there is the difference of only a dot between ملاحان boatmen and ملا خان Mullā Khān but it was not likely that there should be Musalmān among the Hindus to seize Mubārak Khān ملاحان is also transformed into ملا خان Mullā Khān in the trans of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodī (Ell , V, p 93) Col Briggs says Mubārak Khān was captured by Saha Dev Rājā Kutra which may be a variant of Rājā Bhīd of Patna

[2] The name is given in the MSS as راجه پده رای دهید راجه بهده ,رای دهید راجه بهده رای بهد or رای بهید and in the lith edn as رای سد راجه سده

[3] Dalmau was opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges

[4] i e the country now known as Rohilkhund

placed him in charge of Haibat Khān, and 'Umar Khān Sharwānī. The Sultān then marched towards the fort of [1]Chunāi from the vicinity of Jaunpur Some Amīrs of Sultān Husen Sharqī, who were there, gave battle, but were defeated and shut themselves up in the fort As the fort was strong, the Sultān did not besiege it, but marched towards [2]Kantat, one of the dependencies of Patna Rājā Bhīd, the Rājā of the place advanced to welcome him, and did homage The Sultān confirmed him in the possession of Kantat and went away towards [3]Aril In the meantime Rāy Bhīd became suspicious, and abandoning his equipage and regalia fled towards Patna The Sultān sent all his property and equipage to him

When the Sultān arrived at Aril he stretched out his hands for plunder and laid waste and destroyed orchards and gardens and buildings, and proceeded to Dalmau by way of Karra, and marrying the nikāh wife of Shīr Khān, the brother of Mubārak Khān Lohānī, came to Shamsābād, and staying there for six months, went to Sambal, and again from Sambal turned towards Shamsābād On the way he plundered and slew the inhabitants of the town of [4]Madmaunākal which was the abode and the place of shelter of

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[1] All the MSS except one, which has جناره Junārah, have حنار or جنار Junār or Chunār The lith edn has چنار Chunār Badāoni has حنهار Junhār, جهنار (?) and چنار Ferishtah has چنار, Col Ranking transliterates چنار as Chinār and not Chunār, as I think he should have done

[2] The name of this place is given as کنتت Kantat, کستت Kastat and کهیلو Khīlū in the MSS The lith edn has کنتنت Kantanat Badāoni does not mention the place Ferishtah has Katanoa Kantat is on the S W bank of the Ganges in the Sarkār of Allahabad See Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarett), II, 89, 158

[3] Two of the MSS and the lith edn have اردل Aril or Arial, one leaves out the name and one leaves out a whole line where the name would have occurred Badāonī has اردل, but a footnote has a variant ارکل Ferishtah has اریل Arail is mentioned by Abūl Fazl (Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) 1,425) 'He held Jhosī and Arail (or Jalālābād) as Jāigīr" Jhosī is apparently identical with Josī (see note, 4, p 359).

[4] The name of this place is given as مدمو ناکل, ناکل, مدور, دمو قرده ناکلی (where the دمو and the قرده have apparently got transposed) in the MSS and the lith edn Badāonī does not mention the place at all Ferishtah has دیو تاری Deotārī, in the

rebels and turbulent men The latter fled to Vazīrābād. The people of Vazīrābād were also slain and taken prisoners, and the Sultān then came to Shamsābād and spent the rainy season there

In the year 900 A H (1494 A D) the Sultān started towards the country of Patna with the object of chastising [1]Rājā Bhīd; and on the way the villages of rebels were laid waste, and the inhabitants were slain or taken prisoners When he arrived at [2]Khāran Ghātı he had a battle there with [3]Narsingh, the son of the Rājā of Patna Narsingh was defeated and abandoning Ghātı, fled towards Patna When the Sultān arrived at Patna, the Rājā fled towards [4]Sarkanjah (Sargujah ?) but died on the way The Sultān moved from Sarkanjah towards [5]Saund one of the dependencies of Patna When he arrived opium, and [6]*Koknār*, and salt, and oil, became extremely dear The

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lith edn , and Col Briggs has Deonarry Badāonī omits all mention of these incidents Ferishtah follows our author

[1] Badāonī says بعزم گوشمال متمردان ولایت پتنه روانه شد i e he started with the intention of chastising the rebels of the country of Patna, but does not mention any Rājā, Ferishtah calls the Rājā Rāy Balbhadar

[2] The MSS and the lith edn have کهارن کهاتی, Khāran Kh(or Gh)ātı and کهارن لهانی Lhālī Khān Badāonī does not mention the place He only says that the Sultān after staying and taking prisoner a great many in the districts of Patna went to Jaunpur Ferishtah, lith ext calls the place کهارن و کمانی, but Col Briggs does not mention the place where the Sultān halted, but he calls the place where Narsingh was defeated Hundia Ghat The place is called Khān Ghatī in the trans of the Tār-ı-Khān Jahān Lodı (Ell , V, p 94)

[3] The MSS and the lith edn has نرسنگه Narsingh and برسنگه Barsingh Badāonī as already mentioned in note 4, p 361 passes over the incidents Ferishtah has Narsingh He is called Bīr Singh Deo in the trans of the Tār-ı-Khān Jahān Lodı (Ell , V, p 94)

[4] The MSS have سرنعه and سرکنجه, the first may be anything, the second is Sarkanjah Ferishtah ' as سرکچه Sarkachh Col Briggs has Surgooja

[5] The MSS have سوند Saund, and سهدوار Sahdwar Ferishtah has سهدیو Sahdeo Col Briggs has Suhsdwar The trans of the Tār-ı-Khān Jahān Lodı (Ell V, P. 95) has Phāphūnd and it is said in a note that there is a Phāphūnd in the Doāb, but this Phāphūnd (if that is the correct name) must be some other wild district in the Bundelkhund hills The lith edn has سهده .

[6] I cannot find the Eng equivalent for *Koknār* The dictionary says that

Sulṭān went from there to Jaunpur. The horses, which during the journey to Patna had been worked very hard, died in large numbers; so much so that, one who had a hundred horses in the army lost ninety of them

Rāy Lakhmī Chand, son of Rāy Bhīd, and all the Zamindārs wrote to Sultān Husen that there were no horses left in the army of Sulṭān Sikandar, and provisions were scarce; it was a very great opportunity Sultān Husen collected his forces and came with a hundred elephants from Behar to attack Sulṭān Sikandar The latter crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kahtat and came to Chunār and thence to Benares, and sent the K͟hān-i-K͟hānān to [1]Sālbāhan, son of Rāy Bhīd, to bring him in with promises of favours At that time, the army of Sulṭān Husen was eighteen *karohs* from Benares. Sulṭān Sikandar marched with great rapidity against Sulṭān Husen On the way Sālbāhan came to attend on him After skirmishes, a regular battle was fought, and Sulṭān Husen being routed went to the country of Patna The Sulṭān, leaving his camp behind, pursued Sulṭān Husen with one lakh (light) cavalry, and on the way he was informed that Sulṭān Husen had gone to Behar. After nine days the Sulṭān returned, joined his camp and turned towards Behar Sulṭān Husen, left [2]Malik Kandu in the citadel of Behar and went to Khul-Ganon, a dependency of Lakhnautī Sulṭān Sikandar sent from his camp at [3]Deobār an army to attack Malik Kandu The latter fled, and Behar fell into the hands of Sikandar's officers

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after the opium has flowed from the poppy the heads are bruised and boiled and the oil thus obtained is called *Koknār* It has a strong inebriating effect

[1] It is curious that one son of Rājā Bhīd should be on the side of Sulṭān Husen and another on the side of Sulṭān Sikandar Badāonī calls Sālbāhan زمیدار معتبر بود راجه پتنه که, i e the Rājā of Patna, who was a trustworthy and well-to-do Zamindār Ferishtah calls him پسر رای بهید

[2] The MSS and the lith edn call him, ملک کندو Badāonī does not give any name, but says Sulṭān Husen left his deputy at Behar Ferishtah has in the lith edn ملک کهندو Malik Khandu According to a note in Col. Ranking's transl of Badāonī another text of Ferishtah has Malik Kandhū

[3] The name is given as دیو بار · Deobār, or دیو مار Deomār in the MSS and the lith. edn Ferishtah has دیو بار Deobār.

The Sulṭān left Muhabbat Khān with some other Amīrs at Behar, and went to Darveshpur, and, having Khān-i-Khānān and Khān-i-Jahān in charge of the camp and the equipage, marched towards Tirhut The Rāy of Tirhut advanced to welcome him and offered his allegiance The Sulṭān fixed a certain number of lakhs of *tangahs* as tribute to be paid by him, and leaving Mubārak Khān Lohānī to collect it, again returned to his camp at Darveshpur

On the 16th of Shawwāl 901 A H (1495 A D) Khān-i-Jahān died. The Sulṭān honoured his eldest son Ahmad Khān with the title of Ā'zam Humāyūn After that he went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of [1]Shaikh Sharf Munīrī (may God sanctify his resting place) at Behar, he made the Faqīrs and the poor of the place happy, and then came back to Darveshpur From that place he advanced against Sultān 'Alāuddīn Bādshāh of Bangālah When he arrived at [2]Tughlaqpur, one of the dependencies of Behar, Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent his son Dānīāl to meet him Sultān Sikandar sent Mahmūd Khān Lodī and Mubārak Khān Lohānī from his side to oppose him The two armies came into contact at Mouzah Bārah, and terms of an agreement were proposed, and it was settled that Sulṭān Sikandar should not trespass into Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn's kingdom, and in the same way the latter should not in any way interfere with Sulṭān Sikandar's dominions, and should not give shelter to his enemies After the settlement, Mahmūd Khān and Mubārak Khān Lohānī returned, and Mubārak Khān died in the town of Patna, one of the dependencies of Behar Sulṭān Sikandar went from Tughlaqpur to Darveshpur and stayed there for some months That territory was given to Ā'zam Humāyūn, and Dariyā Khān, son of Mubārak Khan, received the province of Behar

[1] The MSS and the lith edn all call him by the name in the text with some erroneous variations in the word منیری in two of the MSS Badāoni gives him the high sounding name of قطب المشائخ شرف الدین یحیی منیری He was the son of Yahiya-bin-Isrāīl, the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Ganj-i-Shakar His burial place is in Behar, see Āīn-i-Akbarī (g), iii, 370

[2] Two of the MSS and the lith edn have Tughlaqpur One MS and Ferishtah have Qutlaghpur One MS has omitted a part of the sentence containing the name Badāonī does not name the place but says Danīāl came to meet him در نواحی بهار . in the neighbourhood of Behar

During this year, there was scarcity of grain, and for the welfare of the people (the Sulṭān) remitted the collection of an [1]alms rate in grain in the whole of his dominions, and *farmans* were issued prohibiting the levying of the alms rate, and from that day, the collection of alms rates in grain was abolished

At this time the Sulṭān came to the town of Sāran, and taking some parganās, in the vicinity of the town from the possession of the Zamindārs, granted them in *jāigīr* to his own men From Sāran he came by way of [2]Mahligarh to Jaunpur, and after staying there for six months marched towards [3]Patna or Panna It is related that the Sulṭān had asked for one of his [4]daughters from Rāy Sālbāhan, Rāy of Patna, and he refused the request The Sulṭān, to take his revenge, marched towards Patna in the year 904 A H (1498 A D), and when he arrived there, he stretched out his hand for pillage and did not leave a sign of cultivation When he arrived at the fort of [5]Bāndhūgarh, which was the strongest fort of that country and the place of residence

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[1] The actual words used both in the Ṭabākāt and in Badāonī and Ferishtah are زكاة غله , زكاة means alms, for which all true Musalmāns are enjoined to give a certain percentage on all kinds of their annual incomes I suppose the collection of the زكاة غله was something like the levy of a poor rate in grain which the Sultān used for the relief of the poor I consider that Col Ranking is not quite correct in calling it the customary tribute in grain, and Col Briggs quite wrong in calling it the transit customs on grain

[2] The MSS and the lith edn. have Mahligarh with some slight variations Badāonī also has Mahligarh Ferishtah has Machhligarh

[3] It is difficult to make out the correct name from the MSS and the lith edn Col Ranking says that one MS of Badāoni has پنه Panna but the text and the other MSS have پتنه Patna Ferishtah has پتهنه Pathnah Briggs in his translation has Panha, and Col Ranking thinks that he must be correct, from the mention of Mādhogarh or Bāndhūgarh, which he says was one of the two chief fortresses in the province of Bāndhu which corresponds nearly with the State of Rewa, distant about 70 miles S S E from Panna It may be mentioned that according to the translation of the Tarīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi (Ell, V, p 93), Rāy Bhīd and his son Sālbāhan, whom Col Ranking and I have called Rājās of Patna, were Rājās of Panna

[4] The demand of Sālbāhan's daughter is not mentioned by Badāonī, but is mentioned by Ferishtah

[5] Variously given as باندهوگره Bāndhūgarh, مادهوگره Mādhogarh and مادوگر Mādogar (see note 3 above)

of its ruler, bold warriors performed deeds of bravery, but on account of the strength of the fort, the Sulṭān went away from there to Jaunpur; and staying there for a few days, occupied himself with affairs of State In the course of his inquiries the accounts of [1]Mubārak Khān Mūjikhail Lodī, who had been placed in charge of Jaunpur at the time when Bārbak Shāh was imprisoned, came under inspection, and although Mubārak Khān tried by various devices to get them passed, and got several Khāns to intercede for him, it was of no avail, and orders were passed that the collections of some years, according to the settlement of the Sulṭān, should be realized from him

It so happened that at this time the Sulṭān was (one day) playing [2]*chaugān* In the course of the play the [3]stick of Suleimān, son of Dariyā Khān Sarwāni, having hit the stick of Haibat Khān, Suleimān's head was broken, and between them an altercation took place on this account, and became the cause of displeasure. Khizr, brother of Suleimān, in order to avenge his brother, intentionally hit Haibat Khān on the head, with a stick, and there was noise and turmoil Mahmūd Khān and the Khān-i-Khānān took Haibāt Khān to his house after comforting him, and the Sultān left the field and went into his palace After four days he again mounted his horse for playing *chaugān* On the road Shams Khān Nāmī, a relation of Haibat Khān, was standing full of wrath, as he saw Khizr, the brother of Suleimān, he at once smote the latter on the head with his *chaugān*, and by order of the Sulṭān, Shams Khān received many kicks The Sulṭān turned back and went into the palace

After this, he became suspicious of some of the Amīrs, and appointed some others whom he knew to be loyal and devoted to him to be his bodyguard, and these Amīrs guarded him every night after arming

[1] This is also not mentioned by Badāonī but is mentioned by Ferishtah who, however, calls Mubārak Khān, Mubārak Khān Mūji, and adds that this became the cause of the displeasure of the Afghān Amīrs

[2] Col Ranking says that it is called صولجان Sauljān in Arabic It is the original and oriental form of the game of polo

[3] Col Briggs calls it the bat The incidents are mentioned very briefly by Badāoni Ferishtah gives a detailed account which agrees generally with that given by our author

themselves At this time, some (Amīrs) acted with deceit and treachery. Twenty-two of the Sardārs conspired together, and incited Shāhzādah Fateh Khān, son of Sulṭān Bahlol, to make an attempt for the throne; and after oaths and engagements tried to create a disturbance and revolt. The Shāhzādah divulged the matters to [1]Sheikh Tāhir and to his own mother, and mentioned the names of the conspirators The Sheikh and the Shāhzādah's mother counselled him and it was settled that he should state everything to Sulṭān Sikandar, and thus cleanse his skirts from the stain of rebellion He did so and the Sulṭān becoming cognisant of the treason and disloyalty of that band, with the advice of his ministers, in order to put down the revolt dispersed every one of them to a different place

After that in the year 905 A H (1499 A D), the Sulṭān went to Sambal and stayed there for four years attending to affairs of State and living in happiness and luxury He spent the greater part of his time in playing *chaugān* and in hunting

At this time the Sulṭān received information of the evil deeds and malpractices of Asghar, Governor of Dehli, and sent orders to Khawās Khān, the Governor of [2]Machhiwārali, that he should seize Asghar and send him to the Sulṭan's presence. Khawās Khān in compliance with the order started towards Dehli, but before he could arrive there, Asghar came out of the fort (of Dehli) on the night of [3]Saturday in the month of Safar 906 (1500 A D), went to the pre-

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[1] He is called Sheikh Tāhīr by Badāonī and Sheikh Tāhir Kābulī by Ferishtah, but he is called Sheikh Tāhā in the translation of the Tār-i-Dāūdī (Ell IV p 464)

[2] The MSS have ماچهی وارة Machhiwārch except one which has مجوارة Majwārah, the lith edition has ماچهوارة Machhwara Badāonī has ماچهیوارة and ماجهوارة, Ferishtah has ماجیوارة The translation of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodī has Māchīwāra Māchiwāra is on the bank of the Sutlej where Bairām Khān and other commanders of Humāyūn's army defeated the Afghāns when Humāyūn was returning to Dehli after his wanderings

[3] The MSS and Ferishtah all say در شب شنبه ماه صفر سنه سته تسعمائة but leave out the date The lith edn gives the same words but calls the month Muharram and not Safar The translation of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodī (Ell, V, p 96) says 1st of Safar 906 H (27 Aug, 1500) This work also says that Khaws Khān on arrival at Dehli left his son Ismail Khān there, and went according to orders to Sambal The Sulṭān received him graciously and presented him with an honorary vest.

sence of the Sulṭān in Sambal, and was sent to prison Khawās Khān took charge of Dehli and began to govern it

It was reported that there was a man with a sacred thread (i e a Brāhman) of the name of [1]Laudhan who lived at Kāner. One day in the presence of some Musalmāns he had admitted that Islām was true, and his own religion was also true This statement of his having been published came to the ears of the learned men [2]Qāzi Piyārā and Sheikh Badah who were both in Lakhnautī gave *fatwas*, contradicting each other Āzam Humāyūn, the Governor of that territory, sent the Brāhman with Qazī Piyārā and Sheikh Badah to the Sultān at Sambal As the Sultān had a great inclination for hearing learned dissertations, celebrated learned men were sent for from all directions [3]Miān Qādan, son of Sheikh Khūju, and Miān 'Abdullah, son of Ilahadād Talanbī, and Saiyed Muhammad, son of Sa'īd Khān, came from Dehli, and Mulla Qutbuddīn, and Mulla Ilhadād, and Sāleh from Sirhind, and Saiyad Amiān and Mīrān Saiyad Ākhan from Kanauj and the band of learned men who were always with the Sultān, such as Saiyad Sadr-ud-dīn Kanaujī, and Miān 'Abdur-Rahmān resident of Sīkrī, and Miyān Azīzullah Sambali were also present at the discussion The learned men all agreed on this that the man should be imprisoned, and

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[1] The name is given as لودن Laudan, and لودهن Laudhan (or Lodhan), and نودهن Naudhan (or Nodhan) in the MSS and the lith edn Ferishtah has in the lith edn یودهن Yudhan Col Briggs has Boodhun The translation of the Tār-i-Dāūdī (Ell, IV, p 464) has Laudhan Kāner is variously written as کاییر , کاهدر and کاتهر in the MSS کانتھی in the lith edn Ferishtah (lith edn) has کایتهن Kaithan Col Briggs has Katnen near Lucknow but I do not know where he got the 'near Lucknow' from From what follows it appears that the place was near Lakhnauti and not near Lucknow The translation of the Tār-i-Dāūdi (Ell IV p 464) has Kāner

[2] About Qāzi Pyāra there is no doubt though Ferishtah (lith edn) has Qāzi Piādah and Col Briggs Qāzi Puala As regards the other man some of the MSS have بده , while others omit the sentence containing the names The lith edn has بده Ferishtah has بدر Col Briggs Budr, and the translation of the Tār-i-Dāūdī, Badr

[3] The first learned man had a most outlandish name, he is called قادس and فارس in the MSS and in the lith edn., Ferishtah has قادر , and the translation of the Tār-i-Dāūdī, Kādan His father's name is حو هوو or حوخو or حوجو or حواجو.

should be asked to accept Islām, if he declined he should be slain. Laudhan refused to accept Islām and was killed The learned men were all rewarded and sent to their own residences

After a few days, Khawās Khān leaving Dehli in charge of his son Ismāil Khān, came in accordance with the Sulṭān's orders to Sambal, and received a [1]robe of honour and other favours. At this time, Sa'īd Khān [2]Sharwānī came from Lahore, and did homage As he was among those who intended treason, the Sulṭān banished him, and Tātār Khān and Muhammad Shāh, and all the traitors from his dominions They went to Gujrāt by way of Gwālior At this time Rājā Mān, Rājā of Gwālior, sent one of his eunuchs of the name of Nehāl with fine and valuable presents and gifts for the Sulṭān When the Sulṭān asked him questions, he gave discourteous replies The Sulṭān by way of protest sent the man away with threats of coming himself and seizing the fort

At this time news came of the death of Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī, Governor of Biānah For some time, Biānah was kept in charge of [3]'Imad and Suleimān, sons of the Khān-i-Khānān But as Biānah owing to the strength of the fort and its being on the frontier became a place of disturbance and revolt, 'Imad and Suleimān came from Biānah with their dependants to Sambal The Sulṭān took Biānah and made it over to Khawās Khān, and after some days Safdar Khān was appointed administrator of Agra, a dependency of Biānah [4]Shamsābād and Jalesar and Manglor and Shāhābād

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[1] This is evidently the 'honorary vest' mentioned by the translator of the Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodī (see note 3, p 361)

[2] Sarwānī and Sharwānī in different MSS. in the Ferishtah

[3] All the MSS and Badāonī and the Tār -i-Khān Jahān Lodī agree in saying that the sons of Khān-i-Khānān, 'Imād and Suleimān succeeded him Ferishtah in the lith edn has in one place احمد و سلیمان پسران پسر خان خانان Ahmad and Suleimān, sons of the son of the Khān-i-Khānān and in the next line احمد و سلیمان پسران خانخانان. Ahmad and Suleimān, sons of Khān-i-Khānān Col Briggs does not give the names, but says the sons of the Khān-i-Khānān succeeded him Col Ranking thinks that Ferishtah is right and that Ahmad and Suleimān, grandsons of the Khān-i-Khānān, succeeded him.

[4] Badāonī does not mention this The author of the Tar -i-Khān Jahān Lodī agrees with the text Ferishtah also does so, except that he substitutes Kāmpila for Manglor

and some other parganās were conferred on 'Imād and Suleimān in *jāigir*.

'Ālam Khān, Governor of Miwāt, and Khān-i-Khānān Lohānī, Governor of Rāpri, were ordered that they should in conjunction with Khawās Khān, engage in the capture of the fort of Dholpur and take it from the possession of [1]Rāy Vināyak Deo The Rāy came forward to oppose them and much severe fighting took place, and [2]Khawājah Bain who was among the heroes who broke the (enemy's) battle array, there attained to martyrdom, and every day large numbers were slain When this news reached Sulṭān Sikandar he in great anxiety left Sambal for Dholpur on Friday the 6th Ramazān of the aforementioned year. When he arrived in the vicinity of Dholpur, Rāy Vināyak Deo went away to Gwālior, leaving his dependants in the fort. The latter, being unable to withstand the attack of the Sulṭān's army, left the fort in the midnight and fled. In the early morning, the Sulṭān entered the fort, and after [3]offering a brief thanksgiving, carried out the rites of victory; and the soldiers stretched out their hands for pillage and destruction, laid waste the houses and uprooted the orchards all round Dholpur which had cast their shade to a distance of seven *karohs*

The Sulṭān stayed there for a month, and then started for Gwālior, and leaving Adam Lodī and many Amīrs at that [4]place crossed the Chambal and encamped on the bank of the [5]Asī otherwise called the

[1] The name is very distinctly given in one MS as ساٮك دىو Vināyak Deo, in the others and in the lith edn it is ٮدا كدى or سالكدى or سامكدى Binakdi, or Salkdi and Samkdi Ferishtah and Col Briggs have راى ٮاٮك دٮو, Rāy Vināyak Deo Badāonī omits the name and so does the author of the Tar.-i-Dāūdī, calling him the Rāy of the place but a few lines further down, the former calls him Mānik Deo The Tār.-i-Khān Jahān Lodī has Rāy Mānik Deo Dholpur is one of the Rājput States The town of Dholpur is 34 miles S of Agra and 37 miles N W. of Gwālior

[2] The name is given as ٮس , هٮس , ٮٮں , and مٮں in the MSS The lith edn has هٮں Ferishtah has ٮس . Col Briggs has Babun Badāonī omits his name The Tār.-i-Khān Jahān has Khwāja Ben, the Tār.-i-D does not mention him

[3] The actual words are دوگانه شکر ٮتقدٮم رساٮٮد ; دوگانه appears to be a prayer with two genuflexions, a short prayer

[4] Apparently Dholpur

[5] Col Ranking says that he cannot definitely identify this river, the Āsan in

Mendakī, and stayed there for two months. On account of the bad water of the place, illness prevailed among the men, and it became the source of a pestilence. The Rājā of Gwālior offered his submission and sued for peace He expelled Sa'īd Khān and Bābu Khān and Rāy Ganesh who had fled from the Sulṭān and taken shelter with him, from the fort and sent his eldest son [1]Bikramājīt to attend on the Sulṭān The latter gave him a horse and a robe of honour, and granted him permission to return, and himself turned back towards Agra. When he arrived at Dholpur, he conferred that territory on Vināyak Deo, and coming to Agra, spent the rainy season there

After the [2]rising of Canopus, in the month of Ramazān in the year 910 A H (1504 A D), he raised his standards for the conquest of the fort of [3]Mundrāel He stayed for a month in the vicinity of Dholpur, and sent his troops that they might plunder and ravage the country round Gwālior and Mundrāel After that he went himself and besieged the fort of Mundrāel The garrison begged for quarter and surrendered the fort The Sulṭān demolished the idol [4]temples

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Keith Johnston (India) cf flowing west of Gwālior would answer to the Asī in position Rennel's map gives no name to the river Medakī, as Ferishtah has it, Col Ranking says, means frog-haunted The correct Sans word would be Mandūkī and Mendakī as the Ṭabāḳāt has it, is a nearer approximation than Medakī

[1] The correct Sanskrit name is Vikramāditya The name given in the text agrees with those given in Badāonī, Ferishtah and in the Tār-i-K J L Col Briggs (trans. of Ferishtah) says that Sa'īd Khān and Bābu Khān were both Sheerwānīs and the Rāy sent his son with costly presents In the lith edn (of Ferishtah) Sa'īd Khān and Bābu Khān are not called Sheerwānīs or anything else, nor does it contain any mention of presents

[2] Which indicates the end of the rains

[3] Col Ranking says that Mundrāel is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tuffenthaler (I, 174) mentions it under the name of Mandalayer or Madrael and says that it is upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal and 12 miles S S E of Caroli (Karauli) See Keith Johnston's Atlas India E.F Mandler See Āīn-i-Ākbarī (J) II, 190, Mandlāīr

[4] The actual words are بتخانها كنايس, Col Briggs translates them as idol temples, and Col. Ranking as idol temples and churches. Kanayes, (pl of كنيسه) are fire temples. For an essay on Fire-worship in Upper India see Elliot, V, appendix (p. 559)

and fire temples and founded mosques He left [1]Mīan Makan, deputy of Mujāhid Khān, in charge of the fort and himself moved about plundering and ravaging that country, and seized and took prisoner a large number of people, and after razing to the ground orchards and buildings started towards Agra, and when he arrived at Dholpur he rebuilt the fort there, and taking it away from Rāy Vināyak Deo, placed it in charge of Malik [2]Qamr-ud-dīn, and himself remained in Agra, and sent the Amīrs to their *jāgīrs*.

At this time on Sunday the 3rd of Safar in the year 911 A H (6th July, 1505 A D) there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that hills began to shake and lofty and strong buildings also fell down. The living thought it to be the day of resurrection and the dead thought it the day of rising

[3]In nine hundred and eleven, from earthquakes,
The land of Agra became like places of death
As the foundations were very strong
From the earthquakes the high became low

From the time of Adam till this time, such an earthquake had not occurred in any parts of Hindustān, and no one remembers such an earthquake They say that on that very day, there were earthquakes in many cities of Hindustān After the rising of the Canopus in the year 911 A H (1505 A D) the Sulṭān moved towards Gwālior· and after waiting in Dholpur, for one and half month, encamped near the ford of [4]Kusla on the bank of the Chambal and stayed there for several

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[1] The name is not given in either Badāoni or Ferishtah The latter says he left it in charge of a trustworthy man

[2] Some of the MSS and the lith edn have Malik Qamr-ud-dīn, other MSS have ملک فخر الدین Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn and ملک عز الدین Malik 'Izz-ud-dīn Ferishtah (lith edn) has شیخ قمر الدین Sheikh Qamr-ud-dīn Badāoni does not mention the name Briggs has Shaikh Qamr-ud-dīn

[3] The same verses occur in Badāoni The only difficulty is about the word مرحلها A مرحله is a place of starting جای رحلت , hence a stage in a journey Col Ranking has translated it as the goal of several successive earthquakes I have translated it as places of departure or death

[4] The MSS have کسله Kuslah, کور کهنه Kūrkuhnah, کور که Kūrkah The lith edn has کهنه Kuhnah Ferishtah has کوکهه Kūkha In the Tār-i-K J L. it is called the ferry of Gour

months. Then leaving Shāhzādah [1]Ibrāhim and Jalāl Khān with other Khāns there, he marched out with the intention of carrying on a war of religion and of plunder He pillaged and took prisoner and slew the greater part of the people who had escaped into the jungles and hills As owing to the non-arrival of the [2]Banjārahs to the army, grain came only in small quantities The Sulṭān sent Āzam Humāyūn and Ahmad Khān and Mujāhid Khān to bring them, and [3]although the Rāy of Gwālior withstood them on the road he was unable to do anything

Couplet

The moth that hurls itself on the lamp
With envy, on its own heart doth put a stain

When the Sulṭān, in the course of his marches, came to [4]Hashāwar, one of the dependencies of Gwālior, an advance guard went forward everyday ten *karohs* ahead of the army towards the enemy and kept watch, and knew the movements of the latter

Verse

[5]For if in that brave and warlike host
Thou, shotst an arrow sharp and fast,

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[1] All the MSS and the lith edn have شاهزاده خان Shāhzādah Khān Badāoni is silent about all that occurred between the earthquake and the siege of Untgarh Ferishtah (lith edn) has شاهزاده ابراهیم The Tār -i-K J L has prince Jalāl Khān

[2] Col Briggs says that this is the first mention of this useful class in Muhammedan history He says that they form a very ancient Hindu mercantile community who live in tents, have laws of their own and do not intermarry with the people of the towns The men are remarkable for their courage, integrity and enterprise and the women for their chastity An account of this race in the Deccan will be found in the first vol of the Bombay literary transactions They appear to be extinct now, but I heard the name Banjārin, i e a Banjara woman, in a child's doggerel, when I was a boy at Lucknow, about 60 years ago

[3] This agrees almost word for word with Ferishtah (lith edn), but Col Briggs says that Āzam Humāyūn and the other generals effected the work at great risk owing to the vigorous efforts of the inhabitants in the vicinity of Gwālior

[4] All the MSS have حشاور Hashāwar, but the lith edn has چتاور, Chitawar, and so has the translator of the Tar -i-K J L Ferishtah (lith edn) has جنور, Janur, and Col Briggs, Chinoor

[5] Two of the MSS omit the verses altogether, one MS and the lith edn and Ferishtah (lith edn) all have the reading I have adopted Another MS has a somewhat different reading

From the bow while yet it had not gone far,
The king on his sky-high throne received the news.

The army of the Rāy of Gwālior at the time of the return came out of ambush, and a severe battle took place. [1]Audh Khān and Ahmad Khān, son of Khān-i-Jahān were in that detachment, and it was on account of their exertion and bravery, and the help of the Sulṭān's army, that the Rājputs were defeated and a large number of them were slain and taken prisoner. The Sulṭān conferred the title of Malik Audh on Audh Khān and showed him favour, and on account of the approach of the rains turned towards Agra When he arrived at Dholpur, he left a large number of notable Amīrs at that place, and going himself to Agra stayed there during the rains

After the rising of Canopus in the year 912 A H (1506 A D), he marched towards the fort of [2]Uditnagar When he arrived at Dholpur he sent 'Imād Khān Farmulī and Mujāhid Khān, with [3]some thousands of horsemen and one hundred elephants towards the fort, and remained where he was He appointed Qāzī Abdul Wāhid, son of Tāhir Bag Kābuli, resident of the town of Thāneswar, and Sheikh 'Umr and Sheikh Ibrāhim to the posts of Chamberlains The governorship of Kālpī had been confirmed to Jalāl Khān, the son of Mahmūd Khān Lodī, after the latter's death Bhikhan Khān and Hājī Khān, brothers of Jalāl Khān having quarrelled with each other, made a representation of their affairs to the Sultān The latter sent Firoz Aghwān to them The Aghwāns are a tribe akin to the Afghāns The Sulṭān then left Mujāhid Khān at Dholpur and encamped on the bank

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[1] Several of the MSS have اوده خان Audh Khān, but one or two and Ferishtah and the translator of the Tār-i-K J L have داؤد خان Dāūd Khān The latter make both the men named sons of Khān-i-Jahān, while the MSS and the lith edn, and Ferishtah all have the word پسر son in the singular, making Ahmad Khān alone the son of Khān-i-Jahān

[2] The MSS have اوسکر , اوہار , اوسکی , which are difficult to decipher correctly, and ادتنگر Uditnagar The lith edn has ادتنگر Uditnagar Badāoni has اونتگر Auntgar Col Ranking has Antgarh Ferishtah has ادونتگر Udwantgarh and Col Briggs Hunwantgarh Col Ranking says that this fortress lay just south of Mandlaer, and is shewn in the map as Deogarh, see Āīn-i-Ākbari (B) 1380, no 1

[3] One MS has با پنج هزار, with five thousand (horsemen)

of the Chambal. Bhīkhan Khān and Hājī Khān came and did homage and were honoured with favours.

The Sulṭān came to Uditnagar on the 23rd of the afore-mentioned month and besieged the fort He ordered that the whole army should be ready to fight stoutly and should devote themselves to the capture of the fort, with all weapons of warfare and destruction. The Sulṭān, in his own person, engaged in the battle, at the moment which astrologers had accepted and the conflict raged in all directions. The soldiers clung like ants and locusts and showed their bravery and manliness, and the breeze of victory and triumph began to blow on the plumes of the Sulṭan's standards and a breach was made on the side on which Malik 'Alāuddīn was leading the attack, and brave warriors having entered, carried on the *Jahād* and although the garrison raised cries for quarter, it did not reach anyone's ears There were other breaches on other sides, and the fort was captured

Couplet

Should the fort of heaven be high
The warrior would throw his sunlike noose.

And the Rājputs taking shelter in their houses fought and then killed and burnt their wives and children At this time an arrow hit the eye of Malik 'Alāuddīn, and made his world-seeing eyes lightless. After the victory the Sultān performed the rites of thanksgiving, and placed the fort in charge of [1]Makan and Mujāhīd Khān He destroyed the idol temples and ordered the erection of mosques As it had reached the ears of the Sulṭān that Mujāhīd Khān had taken a bribe from the Rājā of Uditnagar, and had promised, that he would turn the Sultān back from the fort, he, on the 16th of the month of Muharram, 913 A H (28th May, 1507) imprisoned [2]Mulla Juman, his

[1] Some of the MSS have Makan and Mujāhīd Khān, so has the lith edn and the Tār.-i-K J L Some of the MSS have omitted the clause about the charge of the fort Ferishtah has Bhīkhan Khān, son of Mujāhīd Khān I have thought it proper to retain Makan, as it was stated in a previous page, that he, as agent of Mujāhīd Khān, was placed in charge of the fort of Mandrāil and Bhīkhan Khān was mentioned only a few lines before this, as a son of Mahmūd Khān Lodī It is not likely that there should be two Bhīkhan Khāns

[2] The Tār.-i-K J L. calls him Moulāna Juman. Ferishtah calls him Malik Chaman The Tār.-i-K.J L. says that the fort was placed in charge of Malik Tājuddīn Kambu

chamberlain, who was a special intimate of Mujāhid Khān and made him over to Malik Tājuddīn Kambu, and an order was sent to the Khāns, who were at Dholpur, that they should imprison Mujāhid Khān

The army marched towards Agra in the month of Muharram 913 A H (1507 A D) [1] On the way, one day on account of the narrowness and unevenness of the road, which required the men to go now up and now down, a halt was ordered for the passage of the army, and many people died on account of the want of water and the great multitude of animals On the day the price of a goglet of water rose to fifteen *tangahs*, and some who obtained water, on account of their great thirst, drank so much of it that they died. When, according to orders, the corpses were counted, they were found to be eight hundred in number

Couplet

When the days of one's existence are finished,
Water in a man's mouth acts like poison

The Sulṭān arrived in Dholpur on the [2] 28th of the aforesaid month, and after staying there for a few days he came to Agra and passed the rainy season there

After the rising of Canopus, in the year 913 A H (1567 A D) the Sulṭān determining on the capture of the foot of [3] Narwar, a dependency of Mālwah, sent an order to [4] Jalāl Khān, the Governor of Kālpī, that he should go and besiege it, and if the garrison should seek for peace, he

[1] These incidents are mentioned in the Tār -i-K J L and in Ferishtah and also in less detail in the Tār -i-Dāūdī

[2] The Tār -i-K J L makes it the 27th Ferishtah gives the month, but not the date

[3] It appears from a note in Col Ranking's translation of Badāoni that Narwar lay about half-way between Gwālior and Dhār He also says that Tieff I 175 has a description and map of the fortress, and that according to the Āīn-i-Ākbarī, (J) II , 190 it lay on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwālior city He also refers to Hunter, Imp Gaz X, 227 As I was doubtful about Narwar being on the bank of the river Sind I looked into Āīn-i-Ākbarī (J) II, 190 What I found there did not agree exactly with Col Ranking's note It appears there that Narwar is a strong fort, and in certain parts of it, there are Hindu temples built of stone The Kālī Sind is one of the rivers in Sarkār Narwar

[4] He was the son of Mahmūd Khān Lodī and had become Governor of Kālpī on the death of his father

should not reject their prayer, Jalāl Khān Lodī went and besieged the fort The Sulṭān also after a few days arrived there On the following day, when the Sulṭān mounted to go and reconnoitre the fort, Jalāl Khān stood on the road having arranged his army, so that its multitude might come under the Sulṭān's eye, and the value of his services may be known He had divided his forces into three armies one of infantry, a second of cavalry and the third of elephants The Sulṭān saw the multitude of his army, became envious, and determined in his mind, that he would gradually ruin him and subvert his power The Sulṭān carried on the siege for a year and as the fort was very strong, and its length eight *karohs*, the troops went to attack it every day and were slain After a few days had passed in this way, the Sulṭān ordered that the troops should get ready [1]twisted leather thongs, large knives, shovels, and spades and battle-axes for the purpose of undermining the fort, and then attack it The troops acted in accordance with the orders, and attacked the fort from all sides, and showed great bravery and courage The Sultān stood on the roof of a house and inspected all that was going on He saw that the fort was breached at one place and immediately the breach was closed from within and large numbers of his men were slain The fort could not be taken that day, and he therefore brought back his army .Even during this time, the Sultān was busy planning to seize and ruin Jalāl Khān He drew his best men to his own side, and disorganised his troops After that two *farmāns* were issued, one for the seizure of Jalāl Khān, addressed to Ibrāhim Khān Lohānī and Sulaimān Farmulī, and Malik 'Alāuddīn Jalwānī, and another addressed to Miān Bhuah who was the *Vazīr*, and Sa'īd Khān, son of Zakuh, and Malīk Adam And the aforementioned Khāns put Jalāl Khān and Shīr Khān in chain, carried them to the fort of Uditnagar and kept them imprisoned there

[1] The weapons named would hardly be very effective in undermining and capturing a strong fort, but apparently those were the only ones available The actual words are تبل , ساطور راهدول , طره , طره ordinarily means a tress of curling hair The only meaning given in the dictionary that would at all apply are twisted leather thongs, a ساطور according to the dictionary is a butcher's large knife , a راهدول is a mattock, or battle-axe, and a تبل is a shovel, or spade

After these events, the garrison of Narwar, after suffering much privation for want of water and the dearth of grain, begged for quarter, and went out with their goods and chattels The Sulṭān destroyed the temples and laid the foundations of mosques; and fixed stipends, and allowances for learned men and students, and settled them there, and stayed for six months at the foot of the fort At this time news came that Shahābuddīn, the son of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn, the ruler of Mālwah, being annoyed with his father was coming to the court of the Sulṭān When he came near [1]Sūi, one of the dependencies of Mālwah, the Sulṭān sent a horse and a robe of honour to him, with the message that if he would surrender Chanderī which was a dependency of Mālwah, he should receive such help that Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn would have no power over him It so happened however, that certain things occurred which prevented Shāhzādah Shahābuddīn's coming out of Mālwah, as is narrated in the section about that kingdom

Sulṭān Sikandar marched from the fort of Narwar on the 26th day of the month of Sha'bān, 914 A H (1508 A D.), arrived on the bank of the river Sipra in the month of Zi-quādah of the same year, and there it came into his mind, that as the fort of Narwar was so extremely strong, that if it should fall into the hands of an enemy, it could not be recaptured from him For this reason, he erected another fort round it, so that an enemy should not be able to seize it Having freed his mind from this anxiety he came to the town of [2]Lahāyer and stayed there for a month At this time [3]N'amat Khātūn, wife of Qutb Khān

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[1] The MSS have سدری Sīri, سپری Sipri سپری which is difficult to decipher The lith edn has تسری Tisri Ferishtah (lith edn) has صدری Badāonī does not mention Shahābuddīn at all, but says that Muhammad Khān, grandson of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn, sought the protection of Sulṭān Sikandar, but that was in 915 A H (1509 A D)

[2] The MSS have لہایر Lahāyer except one which has لہادر Lahābar The lith edn has لبہایر Labhāyer Ferishtah (lith edn) has بہار Behār Col Briggs has Yehar Badāonī does not mention the Sulṭān's coming to the place, but he says that in 915 A H he marched from لہایر Lahāyer Col Ranking transliterates it as Lahāyar and says in a note that Lahār is placed in Rennel's map about 50 miles S E of Gwālior He also refers to Hunter Imp Gaz , VIII, 400

[3] Ferishtah says that the Khātun was the مرضعه foster-mother of the

Lodī, came with Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān and joined the Sulṭān's army. The Sulṭān went to see them, and sought their affection, and after a few days, the Sarkār of Kālpī was conferred as a *Jāigīr* on Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān. He also gave him 120 horses, and 15 elephants with a robe of honour, and a sum in cash, and sent him off with the Khātun towards Kālpī

Couplet

Be generous, for generosity
Doth make the free man thy bounden slave

On the 10th Muharram 915 A H (1509 A D) the Royal Standards marched out from Lahāyer, and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of [1]Haikānt, he sent troops against the rebels of those districts, and purified them from rebels and disturbers of the peace, and leaving posts in different places, went and stayed in the metropolis of Agra At this time news came that Ahmad Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lodī, the Governor of [2]Lakhnauti had, associating with infidels, become perverted and had turned back from the religion of Islām An order was sent to Muhammad Khān, brother of Ahmad Khān, that he should arrest the latter and send him to the Sulṭān, and the Sarkār of Lakhnauti was placed in charge of Sa'īd Khān, his brother

At the same time Muhammad Khān, the grandson of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn Mālwī, became suspicious of his grandfather, and sought Sulṭān Sikandar's protection, and the Sarkār of Chandari was appointed as his *Jāigīr*, and an order was issued to Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, that he should help and support him, so that he might not suffer any injury from the army of Mālwah At this time the Sulṭān

Shāhzādah Col Briggs calls her his wet nurse Qutb Khān Lodī is described as Sulṭān Bahlol's cousin in the Tār-i-Dāūdī, Ell, IV, p 468

[1] See note 3, p 350

[2] Most of the MSS and the lith edn have لکهنوتی Lakhnauti, one MS has لکهنورو Lakhnau with a superfluous ر Badāonī does not mention this matter at all Firishtah (lith edn) also has لکهنوتی, Lakhnauti, but Col Briggs and the translator of the Tār-i-K J L have Lucknow Col Briggs thinks that it is not likely that a Musalmān like Ahmad Khān should have become an idolater He thinks that Ahmad Khān was probably forbearing and tolerant to the Hindus, and this was sufficient for his being considered to be a Hindu

had a great desire for travelling about and hunting; and he moved towards Dholpur, and from Agra to Dholpur he erected mansions and palaces, at each stage As fortune was his friend, when he was engaged in hunting, he obtained a kingdom as his prey The details of this brief statement are these, that [1]'Alī Khān and Ābū Bakr, relations of Muhammad Khān, ruler of Nāgor, acting treacherously towards the latter wanted to kill him by deceit, and take possession of his territory, and he having received information of this treachery, attacked them. They fled and came to the court of the Sulṭān Muhammad Khān knowing the enmity of his brothers and relations, and also that they had asked for the protection of the great Sulṭān, acted with great foresight and sent representations couched in sincere language, and many gifts and presents, and inserted the name of the Sulṭān in the public prayers and coinage of his territory, and the Sulṭān sent him a robe of honour and a horse He then returned from Dholpur and took up his residence in his Capital of Agra And for some time, having spread a bed of pleasure, wandered about in gardens, and enjoyed himself in festive society and pleasure and rest It should be known that [2]Agra became the seat of the throne in his time

After a considerable time, he again marched towards Dholpur At this time he ordered Miān Suleimān, son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī, that he should go with his army and equipage to Uditnagar to the confines of [3]Sui Sūir to help and reinforce Hasan Khān newly converted to Islām, who had the name of Rāy Dūngar, and he excused

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[1] Badāonī does not go in these names, but Col Ranking in a note says that Ferishtah calls them 'Alī Khān and Ābū Bakr But the lith edn of Ferishtah which I have got and Col Briggs give Ābā Bakr as the name of one of them The Tār-i-K J L however has Ābū Bakr

[2] It appears that up to this time Agra was a dependency of Biānah

[3] It is difficult to decipher this name The MSS have سوری Sūrī, سوی سدور, Suī Siūr and سوی مدر Suī Miūr The lith edn has تبنی سوئر Tabni Suīr Ferishtah and Badāonī do not give the name The Tār-i-K J L has Suīsīpur The name, however, occurs in Badāonī in another connection It is there given سوی سوئر Sūī Suīr with a variant سدوی و سدوپر Sīuī wa Sīūpur Col Ranking says in a note that at that place Ferishtah has سدو پور Siūpūr The lith edn of Ferishtah has شدو پور Shīūpūr at that place

himself and said that he should not go away from attendance on the Sulṭān These words became the cause of the displeasure of the Sulṭān, and he ordered that he (i e. Miān Suleimān) should be dismissed from his (the Sulṭān's) service, and whatever of his goods and chattels he should be able to carry away during that night should belong to him, and what he would be unable to take away should be allowed to be pillaged by the people The *parganā* of Indari was given to him as a means of subsistence, and he went and took up his residence there

At this time Bahjat Khān, the Governor of Chanderi, whose ancestors had for generations been the subjects of the bādshāh of Mālwah, on account of the weakness of Sulṭān Mahmūd Mālwī, and the decay of his government, came into relation with the Sulṭān by sending presents The Sultān sent 'Imād-ul-Mulk Badah whose name was [1]Ahmad, towards Chanderi, that he, in concert with Bahjat Khān, might have the public prayer read in the Sulṭān's name in Chanderi and its neighbourhood After that the Sulṭān returned from Dholpur and came to Agra, and by [2]sending *farmāns* containing the good news of the submission of Bahjat Khān, and the reading of the public prayers in his name in the territory of Chanderi, and the gaining of fresh victories, his fame became high in all sides and directions

At this time the Sultān considered it proper for reasons of State to change and alter the *jāigīrs* of some of the Amīrs He took the *Sarkar* of Itāwah from Bhīkhan Khān, son of 'Ālam Khān Lodī, and entrusted it to Khizr Khān, his younger brother In the same way the *jāigīr* of Khwājah Muhammad 'Imād Farmulī was transferred to Khwājah Ahmad, his brother, and *jāigīrs* of other Amīrs in the same way After that (the Sultān) deputed Sa'īd Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lodī, and Sheikh Jaīnal, son of Usmān Farmulī, and Rāy Jagar sen

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[1] The lith edn has احمد خان, the MSS have احمد Ahmad and حمدد Hamīd Ferishtah (lith edn) has احمد Col Briggs simply says 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

[2] There are considerable variations in the readings here in the different MSS I have adopted the reading in which two of the MSS and the lith edn. and Ferishtah (lith edn), who generally follows the Ṭabāḳāt sometimes almost verbatim, agree

Kachwāhah and Khizr Khān and Khwājah Ahmad to Chanderi, and they brought that territory into the confines of their possession and acquired great power there, and in accordance with the orders of the Sulṭān, Shāhzādah Muhammad Khān the [1]grandson of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn Mālwi was interned in the city, and the dominion of that territory was confirmed to him as before, but all the power passed into their hands. As Bahjat Khān saw all these things, he did nòt consider it advisable to remain there, and came to the Sulṭān's presence

At this time the heart of the Sulṭān turned from Husen Khān Farmulī, the Governor of the town of Sāran and as a matter of good policy, he sent Hājī Sārang to the place, and having attracted the army of Husen Khān towards himself was thinking of putting him in prison, when he becoming aware of this went with a few of his friends to the country of Lakhnauti, and took shelter with Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, the ruler of Bangālah At this time 'Ali Khān Nāgorī, who had been stationed in the Sūbah of [2]Suī Suīr, having formed relations of agreement and union, and engagements and brotherliness with Shāhzādah Daulat Khān, who was the ruler of Ranthambor, and a subject of Sulṭān Muhammad Mālwī and by his friendly behaviour persuaded him to submit to the Sulṭān (Sikandar), and settled that he should surrender the fortress of Ranthambor to the latter 'Ali Khān sent a representation to the Sultān about this The latter was very pleased with this good news and resolved to march in that direction and arrived in the neighbourhood of Biānah by successive marches He spent four months there in travelling about and hunting, and in visits to learned men and Sheikhs He specially spent his time in the company of Saiyad Na'mat-ul-lah, and Sheikh

[1] The meaning is not quite clear, though one can understand that Shāhzādah Muhammad Khān was kept as a figurehead, but all power passed into the Sultān's hands Ferishtah makes this clear He says, و ایشان آن ولایت بضبطه تصرف در آورده مستقلا گشتند . و حسب الحکم شاهزاده محمد خان نبیره سلطان ناصر الدین مالوی را شهر بند کرده سلطنت آن ملک را چنانچه بود ظاهراً بروی مقرر داشتند شهر بند is given in the dictionary as meaning city walls or a prison I have thought it best to translate شهر بند کرده as having interned in the city, as the prince was kept as a figurehead, he was not, very likely, actually thrown into prison

[2] See note 3, p 380

[1]'Abd-ul-lah Huseni who were celebrated for revelations and miracle-working.

Verse

Don't pass the righteous, for at the time of weighing,
The stone is placed opposite to gold, in the proximity of the balance.

In short 'Alī Khān so bewitched Shāhzādah Daulat Khān and his mother, who held authority in the fort of Ranthambor, with many promises that the Shāhzādah came with all quickness to attend on the Sulṭān. In accordance with the orders of the latter, all the Amīrs went forward to receive him, brought him with all honour and respect to the Sulṭān's presence The latter treated him with fatherly affection and conferred on him a special robe of honour and some horses and elephants, and asked him to take the trouble of surrendering the fort of Ranthambor, according to the engagements already entered into. It so happened, however, that [2]that very 'Alī Khān acted with hypocrisy, and induced Shāhzādah Daulat Khān not to surrender the fort, and emboldened him to break his promise The Shāhzādah then evaded surrendering the fort The Sultān became aware of the duplicity of 'Alī Khān, and transferred the Sarkār of Suī Suīr from him to his brother Abū Bakr, and on account of his patience and his natural kindliness did not shew any greater disfavour towards 'Alī Khān; and did not also show any displeasure or anger towards the Shāhzādah of Ranthambor

The Sulṭān, having composed his mind about the affairs of the territory of Biānah and its neighbourhood, started from there towards [3]Thankar, and from that place he arrived at [4]Bārī and after transfer-

[1] Two of the MSS call him Sheikh 'Abd-ul-ah Huseni, while others call him Sheikh 'Abd-ul-lah Al-Husenī The lith edn has Sheikh 'Abd-ul-lah Husenī Badāonī has Sheikh 'Abd-ul-lah Husenī Ferishtah (lith ed) has Sheikh Husenī,

[2] All the MSS (except one, which omits the word همان before the 'Alī Khān) and the lith edn and Ferishtah (lith edn) have the word همان before the name of 'Alī Khān

[3] The MSS and the lith edn have تهنكر Thankar and تهكر Thahkar Badāonī also has تهنكر Thankar, Ferishtah has تهانكر Thānkar According to Col Ranking, the place is called Thankar, (or, he says, more properly) Bhankar or Thankīr or Thangīr. It was a fortress in the territory of Biānah.

[4] A township in the Sarkār of Agra.

ing that *parganā* from the sons of Mubārak Khān to Shaikhzādah Makan, went to Dholpur, and from there came to his capital Agra; and according to his ancient custom sent *farmāns* in all directions, and summoned the Amīrs from their governments

As life has no faith, and sovereignty no permanence, at this time the Sulṭān contracted an illness and although on account of his high spirit [1]he thought nothing of it, and in that condition sat in the *dewān* or audience hall and rode about But gradually the illness became more and more serious, so that even a morsel of food and water did not pass through his throat; and the passage of the spirit became closed.

Verse

In this festive hall, the cup-bearers are so unkind,
That at the time of joy they hold the poisoned cup !
Alas for pleasure, with clay they Sikandar make,
The wine of delight from Sanjar's heart-blood they quaff !

On Sunday, the [2] 7th of the month of Zi-qādah, 923 A H (Jany. 1518 A D) he separated from the world

Verse

Sikandar the ruler of the seven climes liveth not,
None lives, as Sikandar liveth not.

The period of his rule was 28 years and five months.

As so much has been said in certain histories in praise and glorification of Sulṭān Sikandar, that a great part of it is suspected to be exaggeration and hyperbole, and only that which was nearest to correctness has been mentioned here. They say that Sulṭān Sikandar was adorned with personal beauty and decorated with mental perfection Everything was very cheap in the period of his dominion, and there was peace and security The Sulṭān sat everyday in public and was accessible to all seekers after justice; and

[1] The lith edn has از روی غیرت بروی ضعف نمی آورد , owing to his high spirit he did not confess any loss of strength This makes sense, but all the MSS have left out the word ضعف weakness or want of strength Ferishtah in the corresponding passage has از روی غیرت خیالی بخود راه نداده , i e owing to his high spirit he did not allow a thought to enter his mind

[2] Some of the MSS and Badāonī has 17th other MSS and the lith. edn and the Tār-i-Dāūdī has 7th. As regards the corresponding month and year of the Christian era Col Ranking has Jany, 1518, and the translator of the Tār-i-Dāūdī, Nov, 1517.

sometimes from morning till evening and the time of going to sleep he was engaged with matters in dispute, and performed the prayers for the five times (in the day) in one sitting In the time of his sovereignty the arm of oppression of the Zamindārs of India became short, and they were all obedient and submissive The strong and the weak were equal In all affairs justice was administered and on most occasions, he did not run after sensual pleasure, and was extremely God-fearing and kind to the people On the day on which he had a battle with his brother, Bārbak Shāh, a calender or *darvesh* appeared when the battle was going on, and catching hold of the Sulṭān's hand said "The victory is thine " The Sultān snatched away his hand roughly The *darvesh* said "I am giving thee good omen, and bringing thee good news of victory, why dost thou snatch away thy hand ?" The Sultān said in reply, that whenever there was war between two parties of Musalmāns, the victory should not be predicted for one side, but it should be said that that should happen which would be for the good of [1]Islām, and in victory one should pray to God for whatever should be for the good of the people [2]Twice every year, he ordered the *faqirs*, and other deserving people of his kingdom, that they should bring a writing in detail (of their needs), and he would send to each one, according to his condition, an amount for the next six months, and whoever came for (military) service, he asked a great deal [3]about the descent of their fathers, and in accordance with that [4]engaged him (i e fixed

[1] The readings are different, اسلام , Islām, اهل اسلام , the followers of Islām and مسلمانان , Musalmānān, Musalmāns

[2] Two of the MSS have a different reading *viz* هر سال دو مرتبه فقرا و مساکین وگوشه نشینان را طلب کرده جامها و زرها و ما یحتاج ششماهه میداد i e twice every year he summoned the *faqirs* and the poor and those who sat in seclusion and gave them garments and gold and whatever they needed for the six months

[3] Here also the readings of the MSS are different, *viz* (1) از نسب پدران او about the descent of family of their forefathers (2) احوال پدران و نسب اورا about the condition of their fathers and their relations, (3) از نسبت پدران او as to the relationship or family of their fathers A similar passage occurs in the Tār-i-Dāūdī (Elliot, Vol IV, p 446)

[4] One MS has علوفه مقرر میکرد , fixed his allowances

his emoluments), and without inspecting his horse and his accoutrements, granted him a *jāigīr* and said "Provide your accoutrements from your *jāigīr*"

His faith (bigotry) in Islām was to that extent, that he went beyond the bounds even of excess He levelled to the ground all the places of worship of the *kāfirs* and left neither their name nor any vestige of them In [1]Mathurāh and other places, where there are places for the ablution of the Hindus, he built serais, and bazaars, and mosques, and colleges, and employed men to prevent the Hindus from bathing If any Hindu wanted to shave his beard or head in Mathurāh, the barber refused to place his hand on his beard or head; and he completely abolished all heathenish practices by public orders He forbade the annual [2]procession of the lance of Sālār Masa'ūd. He also prohibited the going of women to the tombs of holy men. In his younger days, i e, when he was still the Shāhzādah he heard that there was a reservoir in Thanessar where Hindus assembled and bathed He asked the learned men "What is the order of the law of the Prophet in this matter" They said "It is not lawful to lay waste ancient idol temples and it does not rest with you to prohibit ablution in a reservoir which has been customary from ancient times" The Shāhzādah put his hand on his dagger, and attempted to slay that learned man and said, "You take the side of the heathen" That wise man said "I only say what has come down in the law of the Prophet, and I am not afraid to tell the truth" The Shāhzādah was pacified

In short, in all his dominions he appointed readers of the Qurān or ministers and preachers and sweepers in all the mosques and fixed stipends and gifts for them In the winter he sent garments and shawls for *faqirs* and every Friday he sent a certain amount to

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[1] Bathing in the river and having their heads shaved are more customary for Hindus in Prayāg (Allahabad) and Benares, than in Mathurāh or Muthra (Cf, however, E H, IV, p 447)

[2] Sālār Masa'ūd Ghāzī was a celebrated champion of Islām, who after numberless encounters with the Hindu idolators fell in battle near Bahraich, in 424 A H and then gained the title of Sultān-ush-Shuhadā or the prince of martyrs The prohibition of the procession of his lance shews that Sultān Sikandar was consistent in his opposition to all forms of idolatry and all attempts to deify human beings

the *faqirs* of the city, and every day food uncooked and cooked was distributed in a certain number of places And [1]every day and on every Friday and twice every year there were rewards specially for *faqirs* throughout his dominions. On all holy days such as the Ramazān and the first ten days of the Muharram, and on occasions of thanksgivings for victories and other successes he made the hearts of *faqirs* and *darweshes* happy

Couplet

If thou the splendour of greatness hast,
Take thou the poor men's heart in thy hand !

[2]Learning spread in the country, and the sons of Amīrs, and soldiers also devoted themselves to the acquisition of excellences in knowledge Wealthy men gave to *faqirs* and deserving people out of their riches, what was in accordance to the law of the Prophet

It is narrated that at the time when Sulṭān Bahlol died, and they summoned Sultān Sikandar to take up the empire, and [3]he intended to go away, one day he went out of Dehli to do homage to Sheikh Sama-ud-dīn who was among the holy men of the time, and asked him for a prayer on his behalf He also said I wish to read the book of [4]*Mizān Sarf* (Arabic grammar) with thee, and made a beginning

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[1] The MSS differ slightly here One leaves out, و دوشنبه و جمعهای, daily and on every Friday and several have the word محروسه after ممالک

[2] Cf Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi, Elliot, IV p 450 It is said there, that the Argar Mahāvedak or the science of medicine was translated, and received the name of Tibb-i-Sikandari Argar is apparently a corruption of Ārya Mahavedak may be Mahāvedah

[3] The readings differ, here one MS has واو اراده رفتن نمود روزی که از دهلی بیرون صرف نمدمت شیخ سماو الدین که از بزرگان وقت بود تعهد التقاس فاتحه رفت another has the same with التماس instead of التقاس towards the end Another omits واو ارده رفتن نمود and begins در روز نکه از دهلی برد سماو الدین تعهد التماس فاتحه رفت etc

Another agrees with the first with the exception that it has در before روزی The lith edn and Ferishtah (lith edn) have شیخ بها الدین Sheikh Bahāuddin instead of شیخ سماو لدین Sheikh Samā'-ud-dīn

[4] One of the MSS and Ferishtah in the corresponding passage leaves out the word صرف

The same anecdote is mentioned in Badāoni and Ferishtah But the former

When the teacher read in it اسعدک الله تعالی في دارين *as'adak allāh t'ala fi dārain*, may the most High God make fortunate in both worlds ! the Sulṭān said 'say it again' and made him repeat it thrice, and then kissing the hand of the holy man, and taking that prayer to be a good omen started

Verse

The [1]words of the pure and the wise are interpreters of fate,
Their minds and their tongues are like tablet and pen,
Eternal blessing in their [2]harmony is contained,
And ruin eternal, in their [3]enmity concealed

Every one among the Amirs and the wealthy men who gave stipends and subsistence allowances to the needy and the *faqirs* gained the confidence of the Sultān, and the latter said, they have laid the foundation of something good, in which there never can be any loss

He possessed information about the condition of his rāiyats and his soldiers, to such a degree, that details of the domestic affairs of men reached him, and sometimes he received information of what happened to men when they were quite alone, so that men suspected that the Sulṭān had a *jinn* who was intimate with him, and gave him information of what was in the future

They say that whenever he sent an army to a place, two *farmāns* reached that army everyday, one early in the morning, which directed that they should halt at such a place after the day's march, and another in the afternoon or the end of the day, which said do this and that There was never any change in this, and post horses were always kept ready on the road Whenever a *farmān* was sent to an Amir of an outlying district, the latter came out two or three *karohs* to receive

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does not say that Sikandar went to the Sheikh and said he wanted to read *Mizān Sarf* with him, but he made his customary daily walk a pretext and asked the Sheikh the meaning of the expression *as'adak allāh*, etc

[1] The reading in the MSS and the lith edn is حديث اهل ںا , only one MS has رباں اهل ںا I have not been able to find the meaning of اهل ںا Probably it means the Sufis, one of whose doctrines is that nothing exists except God

[2] The actual word is وفاق which, the dictionary says, means consent, agreement, harmony, good understanding

[3] The word is نفاق which, according to the dictionary, is hypocrisy I have thought it best to translate it as enmity

it, and for the person who carried the *farmān*, a [1]platform was erected, and he stood on that, and the person to whom the *farmān* was addressed stood below it, and taking the *farmān* in his two hands placed it on his head If the order was that it should be read out at that very place, the bearer conveyed the order, and it was read out at that very place, and if the order was that the *farmān* should be read in a *Masjid* near the pulpit this was done If the *farmān* was specially for that person, or was written specially for him then it was read secretly to him

Every day a diary containing prices (of commodities) and occurrences in the *parganās*, and provinces was submitted to the Sultān If anything unpleasant even by a hair's breadth appeared, it was immediately made right He was always engaged in settling disputes, and deciding cases, and in affairs of state, and in attending to the welfare of the people

About the sharpness of his intellect and his genius, curious sayings are mentioned Whatever was nearest the truth, and had the least exaggeration and hyperbole, that only I have ventured to narrate Once on a time two brothers, who lived in Gwālior, and who were in great straits and poverty, joined an army which was sent to attack a particular province When the soldiers were engaged in plundering and destroying, a piece of gold and some pieces of coloured stuffs, and two valuable rubies fell into their hands One of the two brothers said "our object has been gained, why should we endure more hardships, let us go home and live in comfort " The other said, "Ah brother, as at the very first time spoils such as these have fallen into our hands, perhaps on the next occasion, we will get something even better than this " The other said, "I won't go to any other place " Then they divided the spoils The elder brother gave his share also to the other,

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[1] The word in all the MSS (except one which has صعب) and in the lith edn is صفه. I cannot find any meaning of صفه or صعب which will go with the context I think some kind of a platform was erected and the bearer of the *farmān* stood on it and the receiver of it below (Cf trans of Tār-i-Dāūdī, Elliot, IV, 448, where it is said that a terrace was erected and the bearer stood on it and the receiver of the *farmān* stood below It is also said in a note to this passage that this is a Tātār custom and prevails even now in China and some other Eastern countries)

so that he might make it over to his wife That man returned home and made over all the spoils to his brother's wife except the ruby After two years when his brother returned, and made inquiries, he found no trace of the ruby He said "what about the ruby" His brother replied "I gave it to your wife" He said "she says it never reached her hand" He replied "she is telling an untruth, she should be threatened a little" The man threatened his wife She said "give me time for this night I shall produce it tomorrow morning" Early in the morning she went to the house of [1]Miān Bhudah who was one of the great Amīrs and Sulṭān Sikandar's Chief Justice, and narrated all the circumstances to him Mīan Bhudah ordered her husband to appear with his brother and when they came, questioned them The brother of the woman's husband said "I gave her the ruby also" Miān Bhudah said "Have you got any witness?" He replied "yes" He was asked "who is he?" The man replied "they are two Brahmans" The Miān said "produce them" The man went to a gambling house and paying something to two gamblers tutored them, as to the way in which they were to bear testimony The men were dressed in clean garments and brought to the court After they had given evidence, Miān Bhudah said to the husband of the woman "go and get the rubies from your wife with as much severity as you like" The woman came out of the place, went to the audience hall of the Sulṭān and prayed for justice The Sulṭān called her, and asked her to explain the matter The woman stated what had happened The Sulṭān said "why did you not go to Miān Bhudah" She said "I did go but he did not enquire as he should have done" The Sultān gave order, and all the parties were produced before him He summoned all of them separately, gave to the husband of the woman and his brother a bit of wax and ordered that they should mould it in the form of the ruby They made two exact facsimiles Then he summoned the witnesses separately and gave them wax Each of them made a different shape Every one of the pieces of wax was preserved The woman was then summoned and the

[1] This gentleman's name is given variously in the MSS and in the lith edn as بهوده ، بهدوه ، بهوره Ferishtah (lith edn) has بهوره Col Briggs has Meean Bhoory I can't say whether the name occurs in Badāonī It does not occur in the very copious index of Col Ranking's translation

Sulṭān said to her "Do you also shape the wax in the form of the ruby" The woman said "how can I make a thing which I have never seen?" Although she was asked repeatedly, she did not agree Then he addressed Miān Bhudah, and afterwards said to the witnesses, "If you will tell the truth your lives will be spared, but if you will not do so, you will be put to death" They then narrated the facts with truth The brother of the woman's husband was also summoned, and threatened with condign punishment He also now gave a truthful version of the incidents The poor woman was now acquitted of the accusation[1], and the great penetration and intelligence of the Sultān became patent to all

He wrote even and simple Persian verse, and his poetical pseudonym was *Gulrukhī* Sheikh Jamāl was one of his courtiers with whom he had much conversation He wrote the following couplets as a memento of the Sultān

My garment is made of the dust of thy lane!
That too is wet with the tears of my eyes!
My sides are completely plumed with his arrows,
Now will I fly to him of the bow-like brow!

[2]They say that once on a time the Sultān after doing his *namāz* was telling his beads His major-domo was there The Sulṭān made a sign to him meaning 'summon' The major-domo did not understand it, and went out and said to Miān Bhudah "The Sulṭān is telling his beads and signed to me to summon I could not venture to ask him whom should I summon and now I have not the face to return I cannot go and attend on the Sultān, and I also do not know whom I shall take with me" Miān Bhudah asked him "In what direction was the Sultān's face and what was he looking at" He said "towards the door of the newly erected building" Miān Bhudah said "send for the mason and the carpenter and take them with you" The major-domo took the mason and the carpenter The Sulṭān knowing that it was strange that he should understand his meaning,

[1] Two of the MSS have here, و برادراو را سیاست نموده لعل او را دهانید i e and having punished her (should be her husband's) brother caused the ruby to be given to her

[2] The whole of what follows is to be found in only one MS and in the lith edn but not in the other MSS

enquired "how did you know that I wanted these men ?" The major-domo, replied "Miān Bhudah told me." The faith of the Sulṭān in Miān Bhudah's intelligence became stronger

It is narrated that once on a time Sultān Sikandar said to Miān Bhudah who was his chief Judge and Vāzīr "Frequently in my kingdom much[1] corruption occurs among my officers, and is the cause of the ruin of my subjects My noble mind is frequently very anxious about it If any remedy for it comes into your mind it would be a very good thing " Miān Bhudah represented to him "It is very easy to remedy corruption, and it is this that your Majesty should hold one end of the chain, and give the other end to your slave and there will never be any more corruption And in fact whenever any one is appointed to perform any service, he must be free from avarice, otherwise corruption will not be eradicated "

SULTĀN IBRĀHIM, SON OF SULTĀN SIKANDAR, SON OF SULTĀN BAHLOL LODĪ

When Sulṭān Sikandar was united with the mercy of God, the high mighty and honoured position of the *saltanat* was settled with the consent of the Amirs and the great officers of state on his[2] eldest son

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[1] The word which I have translated as corruption appears to be ملبه Malbah I have not been able to find the word in any dictionary and have translated it by the word corruption, as being most suited to the context

[2] He was certainly not the eldest son Sulṭān Sikandar s sons according to seniority of age were Azam Humāyūn, Jalāl, Ibrāhim, Ismail and Husen According to the Tār-i-Salātin Afghāna (Elliot, V p 7), the reason of his selection appears to have been this Sulṭān Sikandar left two sons by one wife, Ibrāhim and Jalāl When the former grew up he became celebrated for his personal beauty and excellent disposition and the nobles determined to place him on the throne, to which he was raised on the 7th Zil-hijjah, 923 A H (Nov , 1517) As we have seen, however Sulṭān Sikandar died on the 7th Zilqādah, so the date given above is probably incorrect The translator of the Tār-i-S A says in a note that the date of Sulṭān Ibrāhim's accession according to the M-i-A Tār-i-K J L was the 8th Zilqādah which is doubtless the correct date Apparently the mothers of Sulṭān Sikandar's other sons were of inferior rank, and therefore Ibrāhim and Jalāl succeeded him the former at Dehli and the latter for a time at Jaunpur The Tār-i-Dāudī (Ell , IV, p 451) however gives a different list of Sulṭān Sikandar's sons According to it they were six, in the following order of seniority, Ibrāhim Khān, Jalāl Khān, Ismail Khān, Husen Khān, Mahmūd Khān and Azam Humāyūn

Sulṭān Ibrāhim, who was known and celebrated for the beauty of his intelligence and penetration, and his courage and praiseworthy moral qualities But because soldiers, and specially men of war and action, have for the sake of the proper arrangement of their affairs and the reputation and grandeur of their service and command, and the greatness of their retainers and equipages, always directed all their plans and endeavours to this, that the rule of government in the kingdom, and the passing of orders from a well established throne should not have great power and complete predominance, for this reason they decided that Sulṭān Ibrāhim should sit on the throne at Dehli and his rule should extend to the boundary of the kingdom of Jaunpur, and that S͟hāhzādah Jalāl K͟hān should sit on the *Masnad* of *Saltanat* at [1]Jaunpur and should govern the territories on that side But they did not know that sovereignty cannot be carried on in partnership, and two swords cannot be put into one scabbard.

Couplet

Two lives can never in one body exist,
Nor two kings in one kingdom rule

In short S͟hāhzādah Jalāl K͟hān, turned towards Jaunpur with the Amīrs and the *Jāigirdārs* of the *parganās* appertaining to it, and

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[1] The reason given in the text for the establishment of a separate kingdom in Jaunpur does not appear to be at all convincing, and apparently the author had to write a long-winded and involved sentence because he knew that his account was not at all convincing Badāoni gives no reason whatever The extracts from other histories in Elliot, are also silent The Tār -i-S A (Elliot, V, p 7) says the nobles and pillars of the state then gave Ibrāhim's brother by the same mother, the title of Sulṭān Jalāluddin, and sent him with many officers and a large army to take charge of the kingdom of Jaunpur but gives no reason whatever for this action on their part The only satisfactory reason is to be found in Ferishtah, according to whom, Ibrāhim gave great umbrage to the great Lodi and other Afghān Chiefs by declaring immediately after his accession, that there should be no distinction among officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and by saying publicly that kings should have no relations, or clansmen but that all should be considered as subjects and servants of the state and the Afghān Chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them So they conspired together and leaving Ibrāhim in possession of Dehli and a few dependant provinces raised Jalāl K͟hān on the throne of Jaunpur (See Brigg's Ferishtah, vol I, pp 590-91)

being firmly seated on the throne of that kingdom, appointed Āzam Humāyūn Sharwānī to be his agent and minister (vakīl wa peshwā). At this time Khān Jahān Lohānī came from Rāpri to the court of Sulṭān Ibrāhim, and spoke with rebuke and derision to the Vāzīrs and Vakīls, and said that it was a great error, and a manifest blunder to have a divided sovereignty and rule, and[1] the acceptance of this appeared to be remote from wisdom. At last the officers of State endeavouring to remedy it (i.e. their own error) thought it advisable, that as up to that time Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān had not acquired power and stability, he should be summoned to Dehli. They sent Haibat Khān[2] Gurg-āndāz to summon him, and a *farmān* couched in gracious and kind language was sent to the effect, that a matter of importance had to be discussed, and that he should come with a light retinue, by forced marches. When Haibat Khān, arrived at the court of the Shāhzādah, although he tried various forms of coaxing and flattery and deception, the Shāhzādah's suspicion of their deception and treachery became all the stronger and he did not consent to return, and giving [3]soft replies, passed the time by employing tricks and evasions. Haibat Khān sent a representation to the Sulṭān explaining all this. The Sultān sent [4]Shaikhzādah Muhammad, son of Sheikh Sa'īd Farmulī, and Malik Ismai'l, son of Malik 'Alāuddīn Jilwānī and Qāzī Majd-ud-dīn Hajāb (chamberlain). Their blandishments had no effect also, and the Shāhzādah did not return. After that, after consultation with the wise men and the philosophers of the age, *farmāns* were sent

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[1] This clause appears to be incorrect. It is given in the MSS. (except one which substitutes عقل wisdom for عقلا wise men which I certainly consider better and have adopted) as و مدول ایدمعدی از عقلا (عقل) دور بمود

[2] The circumstances under which Haibat Khān slew two wolves with one arrow from his bow and which earned him this honorary surname is given in the Tār-i-S. A. (Elliot, V, p. 33).

[3] All the MSS. (except one which has ناملایم harsh) and Ferishtah, who follows the Tabākāt pretty closely, have ملایم soft.

[4] There are slight differences in the names of the emissaries. One MS. and the lith. edn. has معدل after حجاب one MS. calls ملک اسمعیل پسر ملک زکوه. Ferishtah adds the name of سعید حجاب Sa'īd Hijāb after the other names.

to the Amīrs and rulers of those territories, and to each one of these a separate purport, and favour and a different hint and suggestion, suited to his rank and condition and hereditary status was indicated The purport of these *farmāns* was this, that they should abstain and refrain from allegiance to and association with Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, should not attend at his court, and should not accept service under him To some of the Amīrs who had large forces in those parts and had thirty and forty thousand retainers, such as Dariyā Khān Lohānī, ruler of the province of Behar, and Nasīr Khān, ruler of Ghāzīpūr, and Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmulī, who held Oudh, and [1]Lakhnau, and others, a special trusted agent was sent with a special robe of honour and a horse and other [2]favours When these *farmāns* reached them, they all turned from their allegiance to the Shāhzādah and became hostile to him

At this time the [3]Sultān had a throne placed in the *Dewān-khānah*, adorned and encrusted with fine gems He sat on it on Friday, the 15th of the month of Zilhijjah, in the year 923 A H (1517 A D) and held a great court He conferred on the servants of the palace, and the officers of state and all military officers, robes of honour, and belts for swords and for daggers, and horses and elephants and high offices and ranks, and *Jāigīrs* (fiefs) according to the rank and status of each

Verse

If thou wouldst power and greatness and honour have,
Make captive the hearts of thy friends with favours and grace
By that did Kāūs gain mastery over his foes,
That he a Rustam had his behests to do
Make thy soldier, in battle strong by favours great,
For e'en a lion [4]falls, in battle with a slayer of men

[1] Two of the MSS and the lith edn has لکهنوتی Lakhnauti, and one MS has لکهنوز لکهنو is the correct reading Ferishtah has لکهنو

[2] Ferishtah has کمر خنجر , belt with dagger, among the presents in addition to the robe of honour and the horse

[3] It is curious that according to the Tār -i-S A (Elliot, V, p 9) Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān did exactly similar things on the same date I wonder whether the translator has by mistake attributed Ibrāhim's doings to Jalāl

[4] All the MSS have اندپلنگ, a lion comes, which does not make sense The lith edn has افتد پلنگ , a lion falls, which I have adopted

And he cast anew [1]rings of obedience in their ears; and made them bound and grateful to him afresh by favours and kindnesses He made the great and the common people pleased and conformable to him He opened the doors of beneficence on *faqirs* and the poor and increased their subsistence allowances, and stipends and gratuities and grants, and sent offerings and presents to those who sat in seclusion, and placed their reliance on God He conferred new glory to the acts of greatness and sovereignty, and the affairs of state became stronger and more stable

[2]When Shāhzadah Jalāl Khān saw these acts of the Sultān, and the hostility of the *Amīrs* of those districts, he left Jaunpur and came to Kālpī, and knew that there was no time now left for negotiation and evasion with Sulṭān Ibrāhim, and publicly assumed an attitude of hostility, and in consultation with those who were united with him, gave up all hope of the territory of Jaunpur, and establishing himself at Kālpī, had the Khutbah (public prayer) and Sikkah (coins) in his own name, and assumed the title of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn and devoted himself to the task of looking after his retainers and soldiers and the improvement of his accoutrements, and gun factories, and the pacification of the Rājās and Zamindārs of the surrounding parganās, and became stronger and more powerful He then advanced towards Āzam Humāyūn [3]Sarwānī, who with a large force was besieging the fort of [4]Kālinjar, and sent men to him with the following message "You are like a father or an uncle to me, and you know that I have committed no fault, and the breach of promise has been from the side of Sulṭān Ibrāhim The small portion of territory and wealth

[1] Referring to the custom of having rings placed on holes bored through the lobes of the ears of slaves

[2] Ferishtah follows our author pretty closely Badāoni is however brief and has a somewhat different account He says فرامین بنام امرای حدود شرقیه صادر شد که جلال خانرا گرفته بدرگاه آرند و او از جونپور بکالپی آمده بسلطان جلال الدین مخاطب گشت i e *Farmāns* were issued addressed to the Amīrs of the Eastern provinces, that they should seize Jalāl Khān and bring him to the Court, and he coming from Jaunpur to Kālpī assumed the title of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn

[3] شروانی according to some manuscripts

[4] According to some MSS کلنجر Kalīnjar

which he had decided to allot to me as my inheritance, on that also he has shut his eyes, and has torn asunder the tie of alliance, and broken the bond of affection; it behoves you that you should not abandon the side of justice, and should help the oppressed party" As in fact Āzam Humāyūn had ill-feeling towards Sulṭān Ibrāhim, and the poverty and broken fortunes, and softness of Sulṭān Jalāl-uddīn had affected him, and also as he saw that he had not the power to fight with and oppose the Shāhzādah (i e Sulṭān Jalāl-uddīn), he gave up the siege of the fort of Kālinjar and hastened to attend on Sulṭān Jalāluddīn After strong engagements and promises, they decided, that they should first obtain possession of the territory of Jaunpur and the adjoining districts, and then think of other things In conformity with this resolution, they advanced by forced marches against Sa'id Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lodī, who held the province of Oudh He not being able to withstand them, withdrew to Lakhnau, and sent a representation containing a true account of the state of affairs to Sulṭān Ibrāhim

Sultān Ibrāhim determined that he should with some chosen troops proceed to crush this revolt At this time, in consultation with his well-wishers, he ordered that some of his [1]brothers who had been imprisoned, such as Shāhzādah Isma'il Khān and Husen Khān, and Mahmūd Khān, and Shāhzādah Sheikh Daulat Khān should be conveyed to the fort of Hānsī, and should be kept well-guarded there, and for attendance on each of these, two [2]trustworthy servants

[1] Some of the MSS have برادران و خویشان brothers and relatives. Badāonī only names Isma'il Khān and Husen Khān and adds others Ferishtah in the lith edn, which I have, copies the Ṭabākāt closely, but when he comes to the names he says that Isma'il Khān, Husen Khān and Mahmūd Khān were made over to Daulat Khān. Col Briggs says generally that Ibrāhim confined his other brothers in the fort of Hānsī On further consideration I think that Ferishtah may be right, though the sentence is not quite complete in any of the MSS or in the lith edn If this view is correct then the translation would be "He ordered Shāhzādah Sheikh Daulat Khān that he should convey some of his (that is the Sulṭān's) brothers who had been imprisoned, such as Shāhzādah Isma'il Khān, etc, to the fort of Hānsī and keep them well-guarded there"

[2] The word used in the MSS and in the lith edn and in Ferishtah is حرم. Badāoni has دو دو خدمتگار از اهل حرم, which Col Ranking translates 'two servants from the private establishment' I prefer two servants from his harem or seraglio

were appointed, and also fixed allowances for their food and garments and other necessaries. On Thursday the 24th of the month of Zi-hijjah 923 A.H. (6th February 1518 A.D.) the Sulṭān's standards turned towards the east and by forced marches the army reached Bhongāon. From that place it started towards Kanauj. On the way news came that Āzam Humāyūn with his wise son Fateh Khān had turned his face from Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, and was coming to attend on the Sulṭān. This good news gave great courage and strength of heart to the Sultān. When Āzam Humāyūn arrived near, Sultān Ibrāhim sent most of the Amīrs to welcome him, and highly exalted him with royal favours.

At this time [1]Mānchand, Zamindār of Jartolī, one of the dependencies of parganā Kol which is a celebrated [2]Mawās, had fought with 'Umar, son of Sikandar Sūr and had raised him to martyrdom (i.e. slain him), and Malik Qāsim, Governor of Sambal, who had attacked and defeated and slain that rebel, and had thus put an end to this unforeseen disturbance, came to Kanauj, where the Sultān was encamped, and offered him his services. Most of the Amīrs and *Jāgīrdars* of Jaunpur, such as Sa'īd Khān and others, came to attend on the Sultān and were enrolled in the band of his well-wishers. At this time (the Sultān) deputed Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī and [3]Āzam Humāyūn Lodī and Nasir Khān Lohānī and others with an immense army and elephants of [4]gigantic size against Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān. The latter was at this time at Kālpī. Before the above-named Amīrs could arrive there, he left N'amat Khātun and the followers of Qutb Khān Lodī, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and Malik Badr-ud-dīn and his dependents with a body of men in the fort of Kālpī, and himself turned towards the metropolis of Agra with thirty thousand horsemen and some elephants. The army of Sultān Ibrāhim besieged Kālpī and some days were spent in

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[1] This name is given as خان, Khān خانچند, Khānchand, مانچند, Mānchand and مالچند, Mālchand in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Ferishtah has جیچند Jaichand. The Tār.-i-K. J. L. (Elliot, V, p. 104) does not give any names but says a body of the Zamindārs of Jartolī.

[2] Mawās is a district in the Doāb.

[3] Ferishtah calls him Az'am Khān Lodī.

[4] The actual word used is اژدها پیکر, of the size of great serpents.

warfare with cannon and muskets At last the garrison found itself too weak to oppose the Sulṭān's forces, and the fort was captured by the latter The city was ravaged, and much plunder fell into the hands of the soldiers

The Sultān sent with great quickness [1]Malik Ādam with a well-equipped army to defend Agra S͟hāhzādah Jalāl K͟hān reached the neighbourhood of Agra, and wanted in revenge of Kālpī to ravage Agra At this time Malik Ādam arrived in Agra, and having softened Jalāl K͟hān with sweet words, which were agreeable to his disposition, persuaded him to keep the sack of Agra in suspense, till Malik Īsma'el, son of 'Alāuddīn Jilwānī, and Kabir K͟hān Lodī and Bahār K͟hān Lohānī and some other Amirs with a large army arrived, following at his heels, and Malik Ādam gained much strength [2]After that he sent a message to Jalāl K͟hān, that giving up all absurd desires and ambitions, he should resign the Chatar (royal umbrella), Āftabgīr (sun-umbrella) naubat (large kettle drum) and Naqqārah (kettle drum) and other marks and paraphernalia of royalty, and conduct himself like the Amīrs, so that he (Malik Ādam) may make a representation to the Sultān, for pardoning his error, and the *Sarkār* of Kālpī may as before remain as his *Jāgir* Jalāl K͟hān having agreed to these conditions gave up the paraphernalia of royalty

Couplet

None can, with bragging, take his seat on the seats of the great,
Till he has got all the necessaries of greatness ready

Malik Ādam took charge of the royal umbrella, and the sun-umbrella and the kettle drum, and sent them to the Sultān, who had returned from Kanouj and arrived in Itāwah The things with Malik

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[1] He is called Malik Ādam in all the MSS and in the lith edn and in Ferishtah, but Badāonī calls him Malik Ādam Kākar He is also called Malik Ādam Kākar in the Tār-i-Salatīn-i-Afāghana (Elliot V, p 11) though the translator in the text calls him Malik Ādam Ghakkar, but says in a note that it is there written as Kāikar

[2] All this agrees with the Tār-i-S A (Elliot, V, p 12) The English equivalents of Āftābgir and Naubat are not given The author of the Tār-i-S A says that Jalāl K͟hān like a coward agreed to the conditions although his chiefs tried to dissuade him, and pointed out the probable evil consequences of his action Badāonī and Ferishtah also agree, the latter almost verbatim

Ādam's representation was produced before him, but he did not agree to the proposed treaty with Jalāl Khān and directed his attention to the destruction of Jalāl Khān The latter, on hearing this news, took shelter with the Rājā of Gwālior

The Sulṭān remained in Agra, and the affairs of State which after the death of Sulṭān Sikandar had been shaken, became stable and firm The Amīrs who had been hostile, asked for pardon, and returned loyally to their allegiance After that [1]Haibat Khān Gurg-āndāz and Karimdād Taugh and Daulat Khān Indar were sent to look after and guard Dehli, and [2]Shaikhzādah Manjhu was appointed to take charge of and protect the fort of Chanderī and to be the Peshwa (guardian or minister) of Shāhzādah Muhammad Khān, grandson of Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn Mālwī

In course of time the heart of the [3]Sulṭān turned from Miān Bhudah, who had been one of the great Amīrs and the *Vāzīr* of Sulṭān Sikandar, but who confident of his former services, began to neglect to seek for the wishes of the Sulṭān, till things came to such a point that he was imprisoned and put in chains, and placed in charge of

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[1] These names are not to be found in Badāonī, who does not mention anybody having been sent to guard Dehli and Chanderī The Tār-i-S A says Karimdūd Khān Tāgh with other *'umara* were sent to take charge of Dehli Ferishtah (lith edn) gives the same names as in the text, only he calls Daulat Khān Indar, Daulat Khān Indarāya About this last name the MSS vary One and the lith edn has Indar Another has ایدار, Aidār, while the others omit Dault Khān and add a دار dār to Tāgh Col Briggs says two nobles Karimdād Khān Tarak and Daulat Khān were sent to take charge of Dehli

[2] This name does not occur in Badāonī or in the Tār-i-S A Ferishtah (lith edn) has Sheikh Machhu but as all the MSS and the lith edn of the Ṭabākāt has Shaikhzādah Manjhu, I have retained that name Col Briggs calls him Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmulī

[3] The reason of the Sulṭān's displeasure against his father's *Vāzīr*, as given by our author, was that the latter confident of his former services, did not care to seek for and act according to his wishes In this Ferishtah follows him. Badāonī gives no reason whatever The Tār-i-S A (Elliot, V, p 13) gives a different reason He says that after the conquest of Gwālior, the Sulṭān became very proud and began to maltreat and punish the nobles of his father, and he imprisoned Miān Bhudah, who had for twenty-eight years been the absolute minister of his father

Malık Ādam The Sulṭān however pardoned hıs son and conferrıng honours on hım put hım in hıs father's posıtıon [1]Mıān Bhudah dıed whıle he was stıll ın prıson

At thıs tıme ıt entered the mınd of the Sultān that as Sulṭān Sıkandar had always ıntended to conquer Gwālıor, and the remaınıng fortresses and cıtıes of those dıstrıcts, and repeatedly led hıs armıes, but had never succeeded ın gaınıng hıs object, ıf good fortune guıded hım and vıctory led hım, he mıght, wıth kınglıke determınatıon, conquer Gwālıor and all the terrıtorıes appertaınıng to ıt Wıth thıs object he sent Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī, the Governor of the dıstrıcts of Karra, wıth thırty thousand horsemen and three hundred elephants to conquer Gwālıor When Āzam Humāyūn reached the neıghbourhood of Gwālıor, S͟hāhzādah Jalāl K͟hān leavıng that place went towards Mālwa [2] to Sultān Mahmūd About thıs tıme [3]Bhīkhan K͟hān, son of ʿĀlam K͟hān Lodī, and Jalāl K͟hān Lodī, and Suleımān Farmulī, and Bahādur K͟hān Lohānī and Bahādur K͟hān Sarwānī, and Isma'el, son of Malık Fıroz Aghwān, and K͟hızr K͟hān Lohānī, and K͟hızr K͟hān, brother of Bhīkhan K͟hān Lodī and K͟hān-ı-Jahān, were deputed wıth an ımmense army and some

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[1] The Tār -ı-S A (Ellıot, vol V, p 14) has a story about Mıān Bhudah and Islām K͟hān and some other Amīrs They were asked by the Sulṭān to go ınto a room and have a consultatıon there They dıd so wıthout any suspıcıon but the vault under the room had been filled wıth gun-powder, and they were all blown up and were scattered as leaves of trees ın a gale of wınd The translator says ın a note that thıs barbarous gun-powder plot ıs not mentıoned by any other hıstorıan, but he says that Mıān Bhudah and some other nobles were ın the end prıvately assassınated In support of hıs statement he says that the author of the Tār -ı-D contradıcts hımself, sayıng ın one place that he dıed ın prıson and ın another that he was murdered I have not seen any passage whıch says that he was murdered, though ıt ıs quıte possıble that he was

[2] All the MSS and the lıth edn wıth mınor verbal dıfferences, the Tār -ı-S A and Ferıshtah agree ın thıs Ferıshtah, however, calls the Kıng of Mālwah Sultān Mahmūd K͟hılјı

[3] These names occur, wıth mınor dıfferences, ın all the MSS and ın the lıth edn I have not found them ın any other hıstory Even Ferıshtah, who generally gıves detaıls whıch are not to be found elsewhere, confınes hımself wıth وچند زنجیر فیل بکمک او تعین کرد و متعاقب او هشت نفر از امرای عمده با لشکرعظیم, and after hım (the Sulṭān) appoınted eıght of the chıef nobles wıth a great army and some elephants to reınforce hım

elephants to reinforce Āzam Humāyūn, and to besiege Gwālior and conquer that territory It so happened that at this time Rājā Mān, the ruler of Gwālior, who had been distinguished above all his peers and neighbours for bravery and liberality, and had contended for years with the Sulṭāns of Dehlī, [1]had died and his son Rāy [2]Bikramājīt having succeeded him had made great exertions in strengthening the fortress The amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhim in accordance with his orders had erected a palace and every day assembled there, and attended to all matters of importance and made all efforts and endeavours to carry on the siege It so happened, however, that Rājā Mān [3]had erected a lofty building below the fort which surrounded the latter and was very strong, and was called [4]Bādalgarh After a considerable time, the Sulṭān's soldiers excavated mines and filled them with gun-powder and set fire to it, and the walls of the fort having been blown down, they entered it, and that place was conquered At that place they found a [5]brazen bull, which the Hindus had for years worshipped In accordance with the orders of the Sultān that brazen

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[1] The author of the Tār -i-S A (Elliot, V, p 13) speaking of the death of Rājā Mān says "he had departed to the infernal regions " The translator says in a note that the mode of expression, however common, sounds more than usually ungracious and intolerant in this particular instance, as the Makhzan-i-Afghānī (MS , p 130) and the Tār -i-K J L (MS , p 144) represent Rājā Mān as onl externally a Hindu and in heart inclined towards Islām Not having access to the MSS referred to I cannot say whether this view of Rājā Mān's religious views is correct But he appears by all accounts to have been a brave and generous ruler Ferishtah merely paraphrases the Ṭabakāt, one MS of Badāoni has گذشتن, passing away and the text کشتن, slaying, in respect of the death of Rājā Mān

[2] A corrupt form of the Sanskrit Vikramāditya

[3] The meaning is not very clear The passage runs بادل گره اتفاقاً در زیر قلعه راجه گردانیده بود مان عمارت ساخته در دوران قلعه متین پرداخته استحکام داده مسمی There are some slight differences in the readings, but the above may be taken as correct

[4] Col Ranking says that this Bādalgarh should be distinguished from another fort of the same name On looking up his reference I find that the other fort was not Bādalgarh but Badalgarh, and is merely another name of the citadel of Agra

[5] The translator of the Tār -i-S A (Elliot, vol V, p 13) calls it a copper bull out of whose mouth a voice issued (!) and that it was carried to the fort of Agra where it remained until the time of the Emperor Akbar, who caused it to be melted down

bull was taken to Dehlı, and placed at the Bāghdād gate. Up to the reign of the Hazrat Khalıfah Ilāhi (the emperor Akbar) that bull was at the gate of Dehlı The writer of thıs hıstory has seen ıt.

In short, at that tıme Sulṭān Ibrāhım lost all faıth ın the old amīrs of hıs father, and he ımprısoned most of the great Khāns (nobles). At thıs tıme also, Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, who had gone from Gwālıor to Sulṭān Mahmūd Mālwī, but not havıng received proper treatment from hım, had fled from hım, and gone to the country of [1]Kara Katınka and there he was taken prısoner by a band of Gonds They sent hım under guard to Sulṭān Ibrāhım The latter sent hım to the fort of Hānsī, and on the way he was sent to martyrdom

Verse

The *charbut* of power and pomp ıs so sweet,
That kıngs thırstıng for ıt, shed theır brother's blood,
Don't for power shed the blood of the heart-broken,
For thee, the same draught ınto the cup, they wıll pour

After some tıme Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī and hıs son Faleh Khān, who were besıegıng Gwālıor, and had nearly captured the fort, came to Agra ın complıance wıth the order of the Sulṭān and the latter ordered them to be ımprısoned On account of thıs Islām Khān, the son of Āzam Humāyūn, who was ın Karah havıng revolted, took possessıon of the property and equıpage of hıs father, and refusıng to gıve possessıon to Āhmad Khān who had been appoınted to be the admınıstrator of that place, commenced enlısting troops and collectıng a force Āhmad Khān fought with hım and was defeated Sulṭān Ibrāhım hearıng thıs, wanted to remedy thıs and send an army; when all of a sudden Āzam Humāyūn and Sa'īd Khān Lodī, who

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for the purpose of makıng cannon Badāonī text has سوری روئین a brazen figure, but both MSS A and B have صورتی روئین a brazen anımal Col Rankıng ınstead of quotıng the Ṭabakāt about thıs, quotes Ferıshtah who only gıves a paraphrase of the former Badāonı and Ferıshtah, however, add one new fact, namely, that the bull was sent by the Amīrs to Agra, and was thence sent by the Sulṭān to Dehlı

[1] The name ıs so gıven ın several of the MSS and ın the lıth. edn. In other MSS. the name ıs not quıte dıstınctly wrıtten Badāonī has Kara Kankah The Tār-ı-S A. has Garra Kantak Ferıshtah has Rājāh Garh

were among the great nobles, fled from his (i e , the Sulṭān's) army, and went to Lucknow, which was their *Jāgīr*, and began to fan the flame of rebellion and disturbance Sulṭān Ibrāhim deputed [1]Āhmad Khān, brother of Āzam Humāyūn Lodī, and the sons of Husen Farmulī and Majlis 'Alī Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmulī, 'Alī Khān Khān-i-Khānan Farmulī, and Majlis 'Alī Bhikhārī Farmulī, and Dilawar Khān, son of Āhmad Khān, and Sārang Khān, and Qutb Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān Jalwānī and Bhīkhan Khān Lohānī, and Sikandar, son of Ādam Kākar and others like them with an enormous army to attack them When they reached the neighbourhood of the town of Bāngarmau, near Kanouj, Iqbāl Khān [2]belonging to the tribe of Āzam Humāyūn Lodī with 5,000 horsemen and some elephants came suddenly out of ambush, fell on them and having wounded and killed a large number and put the army in great disorder, left

When this news reached the Sultān, he wrote many words of reproach to the amīrs, and sent orders to them, that as long as they would not recover that territory from the possession of the rebels, they would be in the ranks of the accursed and the rejected, and as a matter of precaution sent another body of amīrs and Khāns with an immense army to reinforce them On the side of the rebels, also, there were collected 40,000 well-armed horsemen and 500 elephants When the two sides approached each other and the battle was about to commence, Sheikh [3]Rajū Bukhārī who was the chief or leader of

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[1] There are some differences about these names in the different MSS and in the lith edn I have taken what appeared to me to be a correct list It is very curious that some of the names are extremely hybrid, such as Majlis Ali Bhikhārī Farmulī and Bhīkan Khān Lohāni No other historian, as far as I know, has given these names Badāonī says Sulṭān Ibrāhim despatched Ahmad Khān, brother of Āzam Humāyūn Lodi, in command of a vast army The Tār-i-S A only says that the Sulṭān despatched another army Ferishtah, who is genrally so prolific in details, says merely دیگر لشکر بکمک ایشان فرستاد , i e sent another army to reinforce them

[2] All the MSS and the lith edn say خاصه خیل, Badāoni says خاص خیل, Col Ranking calls him the chief cavalry commander under Āzam Humāyūn Ferishtah calls him علام , slave of Āzam Humāyūn Lodī Some of the MSS and the lith edn have omitted Āzam before Humāyūn Lodī

[3] One or two of the MSS the lith edn and Ferishtah (lith edn) call him

that age came between, and stopping the two sides sought to guide the rebels with lofty precepts, and noble sermons They, after making many excuses, submitted that if the Sulṭān would release Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī, they would withhold their hands from his dominions and from hostility against him, and would go away to some other kingdom When this proposal reached the Sulṭān, it did not meet with his approval, and he sent orders to Dariyā Khān Lohānī, the Governor of Behār and Nasīr Khān Lohānī and Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmulī, that they should advance from that direction against the rebels, and put down the rebellion

When those troops arrived from that direction, the rebels, in their pride, felt no anxiety about the greatness of the Sulṭān's destiny, and the strength of his army, and began the battle, and the well-arranged troops of the two sides met in dire conflict, and shed such streams of blood, that the eye of the age become blind and dark on beholding it At last as the result of revolt and [1]ingratitude is evil and is never of good omen, Islām Khān, the rebel, was slain, and Sa'id Khān Lodī was taken prisoner by the troops of Dariyā Khān Lohānī. The revolt was crushed and the wealth and the territory of the rebels all came into the possession of Sulṭān Ibrāhim

Verse

Do not like clouds be thou to thy benefactor ingrate,
They get their riches from the sea and yet shoot arrows at its breast.
Even like the river, make gratitude thy habit,
It gives to the cloud an ocean without getting a drop of rain

The Sulṭān on hearing this news was very much elated [2] But as a matter of fact, as the hatred for the amīrs had not left the heart

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شیخ راجوی بہاری . Badāonī does not mention him or his intervention The Tār-i-S A calls him Sheikh Rājū

[1] All the historians, Badāonī, the author of the Tar-i-S A as well as our author moralise about the ingratitude of the rebels, but they have no word of reproach for the tyranny and barbarity of the Sultān Ferishtah, as usual copies the Ṭabakāt almost word for word

[2] The Ṭabakāt and Badāonī and Ferishtah agree mainly but the Tār-i-S A (Elliot, vol V, p 16) contains an account of a battle between the Rājputs under Rānā Sānkā and the Sulṭān's troops under Miān Mākhan whom he had appointed commander-in-chief superseding older and braver commanders It also gives a circumstantial account of the murder of Āzam Humāyūn It also says that the murderers

of the Sulṭān, and the disagreement of his disposition with the amirs, and their open and concealed hostility for him had gone beyond all limit, and many of the amīrs and Maliks, such as Miān Bhudah, and Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī, who was the Amīr-ul-Umara, had died while under imprisonment by order of the Sulṭān Daryā Khān Lohānī, Governor of Behār, and Khān Jahān Lodī, and Miān Hasan Farmulī, and others, like them, from the fear and trepidation, which had overwhelmed them, turned their heads from allegiance to the Sultān, and raised the standard of hostility It so happened that at this time, Mian Husen Farmulī was killed at Chanderi by some low Shaikhzādahs of that place, at the instigation of the Sulṭān, and this became a more serious cause of the hatred of the amīrs for the Sulṭān

After some time Daryā Khān Lohānī died, and his son Bahādur Khān, turning from the Sulṭān, and [1]having determined to follow a particular course, sat in his father's place, and the amīrs who had revolted from the Sulṭān, joined him, and they collected about a *lakh* of horsemen in the territory of Behār and took possession of that country as far as Sambal, and assuming the title of Sultān Muhammad had his name inserted in the public prayer and in the coins he caused to be struck At this time Nasīr Khān Lohānī, the Governor of Ghāzīpur, being defeated by the Sulṭān's troops went to him, and for [2]some months in the territory of Behār and its dependencies, public prayers were read in his name, and during this time he fought several battles with the troops of the Sulṭān, and shewed himself to be his equal

It so happened that [3]the son of Daulat Khān Lodī came from

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of Miān Husen Farmulī or as he is there called Husen Khān were rewarded with 700 gold pieces and ten villages in Inām The Tār -i-S A also calls the son of Daryā Khān Lohāni Shāhbāz Khān It appears from a note to the translation of this history (Elliot, V, p 22) that some historians call him Bihār Khān, but he is more generally called Bahādur Khān

[1] All the MSS have یکرویه شده which literally means having turned his face in one direction I think I have succeeded in conveying the meaning

[2] Badāoni says چند گاه for some time According to a note to the trans of the Tār -i-S A (Elliot, V, p 22) the Wāiqāt-i-Mushtāqi says that *khutbah* was read in his name for two years and some months

[3] The Tār -i-S.A (Elliot, vol V, p 23) says that he was Daulat Khān's youngest son and his name was Dilāwar Khān It goes on to say that Daulat Khān sent him to

Lahore to attend on the Sulṭān But he became suspicious of the latter and fled to his father As Daulat Khān did not see that he could in any way escape from the wrath of the Sultān and severe punishment, he went to Kābul and sought the protection of Hazrat Firdus Makānī (His majesty the Dweller in Paradise) Bābar Bādshāh and brought the latter to invade India On the way Daulat Khān died, and in Behār, Sulṭān Muhammad also died Although the requisites for the conquest of Hindustān, and the necessary counsels and plans were all arranged, His majesty the Bādshāh mainly relying on the help of God fought with Sultān Ibrāhim in the vicinity of Pānipat, and the latter was defeated, and he and a number of the amīrs were slain on the field of battle The sovereignty of Hindustān passed away from the dynasty of the Lodī Afghans to this auspicious family The reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhim extended over seven years and a few months

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Bābar in Kābul and Bābar prayed to God that if he was destined to conquer, God would send him pan leaves and mangoes, which according to him were the choicest products of India, as a sign It so happened that Daulat Khān had sent some half-ripe mangoes preserved in pots of honey and betel leaves, by the hand of Ahmad Khān, and Dilawar Khān presented these Bābar at once prostrated himself to offer thanks to God, and determined to invade India This account makes no mention of the petition sent by the nobles by the hand of 'Ālam Khān Lodī as mentioned by our author and Badāonī, and the Tār-i-K J Lodī (Elliot, vol V, p 106) Ferishtah as far as I can make out does not give the name of 'Ālam Khān Lodī He says Daulat Khān sent a trustworthy person to Bābar at Kābul

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